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UKRAINE
and
ITS PEOPLE

A Handbook with Maps, Statistical Tables and Diagrams

edited
by
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Introduction

114 This is a collaborative work whose aim is to impart to the English reader general information concerning the Ukrainian people, their territory and their achievements in public life. It might be termed a Ukrainian encyclopaedia in miniature. With the exception of Professor Manning of Columbia University who has provided the contribution on "The Ukrainians and the Anglo-Saxon World," and to whom I owe special thanks for this essay, all the authors are Ukrainian specialists, who have devoted their best efforts to the furtherance of the project. The geographical depiction of the country was written by Professor W. Kubiyovych, formerly of the University of Cracow, and now engaged at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich. He is the author of a large textbook on the geography of Ukraine and of a Ukrainian atlas. The contributions on the "Ukrainian People", "Ukrainian Emigration", "Minorities in Ukraine", and the "Ukrainian Press", are the product of Prof. Z. Kuziela, president of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. The essays on the name "Ukraine" and the "Ukrainian Language" were presented by Professor Rudnytskyj, formerly of the Ukrainian University, Munich, but now at the university of Manitoba, Canada. The brief summary of the thousand years' history of the Ukrainian people owes its production to the pen of the young scholar Dr. Michael Antonovych, a lecturer from the University of Vienna in the field of Eastern European History. The articles concerning the social structure of the Ukrainian community and the different areas of Ukraine, their nationality and political position were written by an outstanding specialist in this field, Mr. Viktor Sadovskyj from Prague. The noted economist Diploma Engineer D. Dyminskyj, Professor at the Ukrainian Free University and at the Ukrainian Technical Institute in Regensburg assumed the for-

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114 midable task of presenting the entire economic life in Ukraine in a brief and concise manner, both from the aspect of its development and in its present state. The third section of the book which describes the cultural life of Ukraine, the Church, and the psychological characteristics of the people are products of the writer's pen.

121 The work as a whole has been composed from a historical point of view and includes the period up to the year 1939. It is to be particularly emphasised that it has been necessary to present this complete historical development of Ukrainian public life in order to be able to explain adequately the present situation. This is the first extensive treatise on Ukraine in English and for this reason it appeared advisable to take into account the historical preliminaries of the present. However, it has also seemed wisest not to proceed in the treatment beyond the year 1939, since reliable statistical data are lacking for an authoritative presentation of recent years. During the second World War the Ukrainian territory was so thoroughly devastated by military operations, and so great changes of a political character have taken place, that a correct treatment of the present situation is essentially impossible. To make the matter still more difficult is the fact that the Soviet government, in whose sphere of authority lies the entire native soil of Ukraine, gives out almost no statistics and when any do appear their validity is of a very doubtful character.

104 The book has set as its goal the illumination of all aspects of the Ukrainian problem. With the one exeption noted above it has been composed by Ukrainian scholars, and now appears for the public as authentically representative of Ukrainian public opinion. For that reason, it is appropriate that it should render the Ukrainian names, not in the general and customary Russian or Polish transliteration, but in the little known Ukrainian one. We use, therefore, "Chernvhiv" instead of the customary "Chernigov", "Kyiv" instead of the generally known "Kiev", "Lviv" instead of "Lemberg" or "Lwow", etc. However, in order to make the reader familiar with the Ukrainian form of the names, we include with this introduction a list of Ukrainian geographical and proper names in which the Ukrainian and usual

transliteration is presented. The rendition of Ukrainian sounds 104 in English transcription is perhaps the weakest aspect of this publication, but the author can hardly avoid this, since up to now there has existed no officially recognised formula for such a rendition. At this juncture, however, I should like to call the reader's attention to one item, namely the ending of the masculine Ukrainian name "yj" as in "Khmelnytskyj", or "Tarnovskyj", for example. The ending in "y"alone does not accurately render the English sound, but we have for aesthetic reasons not given it as "yy", and have kept the form "yj", whereby it must be clearly emphasised, however, that this "j" in Slavic names must be pronounced not like an English "j" but like a Latin "i" or Greek "jota". Also, for example, the name of the city "Kyiv" consists of two syllables "Ky-iv".

Inasmuch as this book is not designed for a particular country 000 such as America or Canada, but for the entire world and has only employed English as one of the recognised world languages Professor Dyminskyj, in the calculations of his section on economics, has employed the European system of measures. However in order to facilitate the orientation for readers of other continents we include a table of equivalent measures which permits the conversion, in a simple fashion, of European measures into the American or Canadian.

I am entirely aware that various aspects of this book might be improved; but, as has been said, the better is the enemy of the good we have above all, for reasons of time, found it desirable to effect the publishing of the book in such manner as was feasible under prevailing circumstances.

The work has involved considerable effort and labor. To all who have so helpfully collaborated with me in its production are tendered my hearty thanks. I am especially obliged to the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee at Munich and its Director Roman Smook, who contributed greatly towards a speedy publication of the work.

J. Mirchuk

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List of Names

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Ukrainian	Russian or Polish
Berdychiv	Berdichev
Berestechko	Beresteczko
Berestya	Brest-Litowsk, Brzesc nad Bugiem
Berezhany	Brzezany
Buh	Bug
Chernivtsi	Cernauti
Chernyhiv	Chernigov
Dnipro	Dnepr, (Dnieper)
Dniprodshershinske	Dneprodzershinsk
Dnipropetrovske / Katerynoslav	Dnepropetrovsk / Ekaterinoslav
Dnister	Dnestr, (Dniester)
Halych	Halich
Kamianets-Podilskyj	Kamenets-Podolsk
Kharkiv	Kharkov
Konstantynivka	Konstantinovka
Kremianets	Krzemieniec
Kryvyj Rih	Krivoi Rog
Kyiv	Kiev
Lviv	Lwow, - Lemberg
Mohyliv	Mogilev
Mykolajiv	Nikolaev
Nikopil	Nikopol
Novhorod	Novgorod
Oziv	Sea of Azov
Peremyshl	Przemysl
Proskuriv	Proskurov
Rivne	Rowne - Rovno
Sandomir	Sandomierz
Sevastopil	Sevastopol
Syanik	Sanok
Stanislaviv	Stanislawow
Taganrih	Taganrog
Tarnopil	Tarnopol
Volynia	Wolhynia
Voronizh	Voronezh
Vynnytsia	Vinnitsa
Zaporizha	Zaporozhe
Zhytomyr	Zhitomir

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Tables for Conversion of European Metric System into American or Canadian measures

1 Meter	= 1.0936 yd	1 yard	= 0.9144 m
1 Meter	= 3.2808 ft	1 foot	= 0.3048 m
1 Kilometer	= 0.6214 mi	1 mile	= 1.6094 km
1 Squarekilometer	= 0.3861 sq. mi	1 square mile	= 2.5900 km^2
1 Hectare	= 2.4710 acre	1 acre	= 0.4047 ha
1 Kilogramm	= 2.2046 lb	1 pound	= 0.4536 kg
1 metric ton	= 0.9842 t long	1 ton long	= 1.0160 t
1 metric ton	= 1.1023 t short	1 ton short	= 0.9072 t

Yield of Produce per Unit of Land

q/ha (Centners per Hectare) — bu/acre (US or Winchesterbushel per acre)

In converting the number of centners or bushels to get the corresponding number of bushels (per acre) or of centners (per ha) we multiply by one of the following coefficients.

Wheat
q/ha x 14.870 = bu/acre (1 bu = 60 lbs); bu/acre x 6.725 = q/ha

Rye — Maize
q/ha x 15.932 = bu/acre (1 bu = 56 lbs); bu/acre x 6.277 = q/ha

Barley
q/ha x 18.588 = bu/acre (1 bu = 48 lbs); bu/acre x 5.379 = q/ha

Oats
q/ha x 27.882 = bu/acre (1 bu = 32 lbs); bu/acre x 3.587 = q/ha

1

Country and People

The Name

101 The name "Ukrayina" is of Slavonic origin and has four different meanings in the Ukrainian language: 1. border-land or march; 2. any remote area; 3. country in general; 4. the habitat of the people constituting the Ukrainian nation and of their culture.

Originally the accent was on the syllable "kray", which is how the word is accented still to-day in Russian and White Ruthenian. The original meaning of the name as we find it in chronicles of the 12th century and in books up to the 16th century is likely to have been "border-land". In the 17th century, however, parallel to the growth of the Cossack state, the term which was formerly applied to some portions of the territory only began to extend to the whole country and at the same time its meaning was broadened according to political facts: in the conscience of the people the Cossack state was a political power whose historical mission was to act as bulkhead against the Asiatic hordes and to protect Christianity and European culture from an invasion out of the East. The term "Ukrayina" then meant: 1. territory of the Cossack state; 2. boundary between the Asiatic East and civilised Europe.

The book by Le Vasseur de Beauplan "Description d'Ukraine" made this name popular throughout the world, as did his maps "Delineatio specialis et accurata cum suis palatinatibus" (1650).

On the geographical maps subsequently drawn, the term "Ukraine" appears continually (see L. Bagrov: "Die ersten Karten der Ukraine im 17. Jahrhundert", Beiträge zur Ukraine-

101 kunde, herausgegeben vom Ukrainischen Wissenschaftlichen Institut Berlin 1935).

[186] National consciousness increased as a consequence of oppression by Russians and Poles, in spite of whose resistance the name "Ukraine" as a special term for the Ukrainian territory spread quickly, thus emphasising the fact that there is a difference between the Ukrainians and their neighbors in the spheres of language, race, culture, national feeling and policy.

In Tsarist Russia the name "Ukraine" was the symbol of the Ukrainian people's struggle for independence. It was therefore abolished and replaced by "Little Russia", a term very much hated by Ukrainians.

In addition to the name "Ukrayina" Ukrainians originally used the term "Rus" to designate the political entity of the Kyiv empire to which at that time the territory of Ukraine belonged. Originally "Rus" applied solely to the southern parts of Eastern Europe, whilst the northern parts were called Muscovy. Tsar Peter the Great extended this name to the whole empire and entered it into official European nomenclature. In Peter's state, "Rus"-Ukraine was called "Little Russia" to indicate that this part of the realm was not one with the former Muscovite territory which got the name "Great Russia".

Before the First World War Austria had introduced "Ruthenia, Ruthenian" from Latin "Ruthenus" as official name for the Ukrainians in Galicia. But not before the 20th century was some order brought into the chaos of "Ukrainian — Little Russian — Ruthenian". The USSR officially acknowledged the name "Ukraine, Ukrainian" and the "Ukranian Soviet Republic" has succeeded in keeping its ground at least nominally in the world-wide family of nations.

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The Ukrainian Territory

I

1. Geographical Relations

a) Its place in Europe

The frontiers of Ukraine coincide with the boundaries of the area settled by the Ukrainian people. This area stretches from the Upper Tisa, the Danube, the Black Sea and the Caucasus to the woods and marshes of Polesya, from the Poprad, the Syan, the Vepr and the Pilitsa rivers (affluents of the Vistula) to the valleys of the Caucasus and the broad waters of the Don; further east numerous Ukrainian settlements lie on the way to Siberia and the Pacific. /31

Ukraine is the bridge between Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean countries. Its tectonic structure is determined by the Ukraine gneiss and the chains of the Carpathians, the Yaila mountains and the Caucasus (young fold system). Recent shiftings of the surface have lent a more varied shape to this landscape than to any other in Eastern Europe. The glaciers of the Ice Age covered only a small part of what we call Ukraine to-day, with the result, however, that most of the country was covered with a thick crust of loess, the origin of the fertile Black Earth. Climate and flora are distinctly different from those of adjoining countries but, in spite of this, Ukraine does not possess any marked natural frontiers. The Black Sea and the Caucasus alone may be regarded as such and in the north, the boundary is partly given by the marshes of Polesya. The history of Ukraine has been in part determined by its lack of frontiers protected by Nature. /33

b) Frontiers

The Ukrainian territory lies between 43° and 53°N and 21° and 45°E on the way to Asia, the continent of steppes and deserts. In consequence of their position, the frontiers of Ukraine have often been subject to alterations; the limits of the settled area often overlap neighboring areas and are, indeed, often so blurred that no sharp boundaries can be drawn, especially /31

131 in Sub-Caucasia, but also in the zone between Poland and Ukraine.

101 The frontiers of the area settled by the Ukrainians are divided
131 into the following sections:

1. the southern section, bounded by the Seas and the Caucasus;
2. the southwestern section — the Roumanian-Magyar section;
3. the western section — bordering on Slovakia and Poland;
4. the northern section — the White Ruthenian-Russian section;
5. the eastern section — Don and Caucasus section.

The southern frontier was reached by the Ukrainian people at the end of the eighteenth century, thus linking up with the trade of the outside world. The frontier runs from the delta of the Danube to Gagry on the slopes of the Caucasus and is about 1125 miles long. Only part of the Crimean Peninsula was settled by the Ukrainians; it is a mixed settlement and includes among its population Ukrainians, Tatars and Russians.

The south-west frontier is about 625 miles long and has shifted considerably in the course of centuries in favor of the Roumanians. To-day the districts of Akkerman and Hotin as well as the north-west area of Bucovina are all that is left of the Ukrainian settlements that once spread all over Bessarabia, Moldavia and Bucovina. The losses on the Magyar frontier have not been so severe.

The western frontier, about 532 miles long, is not clearly defined in the Slovak section, there being many ethnographical insets. In the Polish section this frontier is a mixed zone, especially in the Kholm district and Podlakhia, where that section of the Ukrainian population which joined the Roman Catholic Church in the 20th century has become Polish in national consciousness.

On the northern frontier there is no rigid line of demarcation between Ukrainian and White Ruthenian dialects; east of the Dnipro (area round Chernyhiv) the frontier has become particularly blurred as the land was settled by Ukrainians, White Ruthenians and Russians.

The eastern frontier is divided into 2 parts by the wedge of Don Cossack territory projecting west, viz. the section bet-

ween Novokhopersk and Rostov and that extending from Rostov 101
to Otomanivsk. 131

It is only in the western section that the frontier runs between the purely Ukrainian area in west Sub-Caucasia (Kuban area) and the Don area; eastern Sub-Caucasia is a mixed belt of Ukrainians and Russians. In the south-east, therefore, we must speak of two frontiers of Ukrainian territory, a narrower and a wider one. The former separates Ukrainian Transcaucasia from the eastern part of Transcaucasia that is partly Russian, while the latter also includes eastern Sub-Caucasia. Throughout its course, the south-eastern frontier is blurred and by no means fixed, as the process of colonisation is still going on.

c) Boundaries and Territories of the three Historical Ukrainian States.

The Kyiv state stretched in the 11th and 12th centuries from 131
the Wyslok to the Donets and included areas which were not 175
colonised and others whose inhabitants were not Ukrainians. It embraced almost 1153846 square miles, almost 1/6 of which was constantly inhabited by Ukrainians.

The second Ukrainian state (the realm of the Cossacks) had an area of about 115384 square miles, western Ukraine was not included within its boundaries.

The third Ukrainian state covered the entire area settled by the Ukrainian people with the exception of the Don area and Sub-Caucasia. Without annexations (which were of brief duration), the third state covered about 242308 square miles, with the Crimean Peninsula, a part of the Voronesh district, Carpathian Ukraine and Bucovina 265384 square miles, i. e. less than the entire Ukrainian ethnographical territory (276269 sq. miles) and much less than the entire territory originally settled by Ukrainians (357885 sq. miles).

d) Size of the Ukrainian territory

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Up to World War I 29039 sq. miles of the Ukrainian ter- 162
ritory belonged to Austria-Hungary and the remainder to Rus- 175
sia. After the end of World War I and a short period of inde-

131 pendence in the years 1917—1920, Ukraine was distributed among the following countries:

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Ukraine Territory	Area	Population on 1. 1. 1939 (in millions)
to USSR	216 846 sq.m.	37.3
to Poland	46 932 sq.m.	9.7
to Roumania	6 769 sq.m.	1.4
to Czechoslovakia	5 730 sq.m.	0.8

A separate Ukraine Soviet Republic was formed within the USSR (170 423 sqm. with 31.9 million inhabitants). The remaining Ukraine districts in Soviet Russia belonged to the RSFSR, and a tiny piece of Polesya to the Republic of White Ruthenia. At the end of World War II almost the whole Ukrainian territory fell to the Soviet Union. 20 000 km² with more than a million inhabitants belongs to Poland, 5 000 km² with 100 000 inhabitants to Slovakia and small minorities to Roumania.

Soviet Ukraine embraces about 261 538 sq.m. with 43 million inhabitants. —

2. Natural Conditions in Ukraine

a) Landscape of Ukraine

133 Ukraine consists of vast plains and plateaus which seldom rise as high as 1000 ft. above sea-level. The monotony of the Ukrainian landscape is akin to that of neighboring countries in Eastern Europe. One can travel for hundreds of miles through a landscape that never changes, for the plateaus differ little from the plains, the transition from the one physical configuration to the other being scarcely perceptible. In the south, the scene is varied by mountains, but these constitute but 1/10 of the entire area of Ukraine.

Passing from south to north, we can distinguish 5 different forms of landscape.

In the south the southern low plain stretches along and includes the plains at the foot of the Carpathian mountains with the valley of the Vistula, the Syan and the Dnister, the Black Sea depression and the plain surrounding the lowlands of the Don, touching the valley of the Kuban and the shore of the Caspian Sea.

This is followed by the zone of plateaus: the plateau between Lviv and Tomashev, Podolia, the Kholm-Volynia plateau, the Pokutia-Bessarabia plateau, the Dnipro plateau, and the Oziv-Donets plateau.

This zone of plateaus is bounded on the north by a strip of the northern plain. It embraces Podlakhia, Polesya and the district of Chernyhiv.

This zone unites with the plain on the left bank of the Dnipro in its middle course which merges on the eastern boundary with the plain on the left bank of the Donets.

Only the southern slope of the isolated plateau of Central Russia belongs to Ukraine.

From the point of view of geology, the oldest area is the so-called Ukrainian Crystal Plateau, consisting of the Dnipro and the Oziv plateaus and the eastern part of Volynia. Water and weathering influences have destroyed this ancient mountain ridge. Early in the Tertiary period it was flooded by the sea, covered with sands and loams and then, during the Ice Age, with a thick crust of loess.

In the Carbon period of the Paleozoic era the seams in the Donets Basin were formed. They seemed to turn north-west under the Dnipro Plain, for coal has also been found at Poltava.

The plain on the left bank of the Dnipro was formed by the depression between the Ukrainian Crystal Plateau and the Russian Central Plateau; this took place in the Jurassic period of the Mesozoic formation. The Carpathians, the Yaila mountains and the Caucasus belong to the Tertiary period.

No mountain-forming agents influenced other parts of Ukraine. The horizontal deposits in these areas are called „Black Sea Plateau“.

Diluvial glaciers reached a line running over Sambir — Lviv — Lutsk — Zhytomyr — Kremenchuk — Hadiach — Briansk.

When the glaciers receded, sands, loams, moranes and numerous lakes were left. The wind blew tiny particles of loam (loess) out of the masses of sand and they gradually covered the entire central strip of the plateau and of the southern plain. This loess soil of Central and Southern Ukraine, the famous Black Earth, is the best type of soil in Europe. It covers about 70 million hectares (about 200 million acres) and makes Ukraine the granary of Europe.

The northern areas which retained sand and flint silted up and became marshes.

As a result of the emergence of the Ukrainian ridge and the plateau and of the depression of Polesya and the Black Sea Plain, the work of the rivers was sped up in the uplands and retarded in the plains. The river beds became deeper and deeper and formed the ravines (jary) which are characteristic of the Ukraine.

The landscape of Polesya has changed least of all. Extensive fens, marshy meadows and forests, from which a solid island occasionally emerges (all that is left of an old moraine or sand-dune) flank the sluggish waters of the Prypyat and its tributaries. In spring and after rains the banks are flooded and Polesya becomes one wide lake with trees and huts showing above the surface. What agrarian land exists is bad, and the population poor. Podlakhia is drier and richer in forests; the virgin forest of Bielovjesh with its herds of bison is well-known. The district round Chernyhiv is also higher and therefore more densely populated. The zone of the plateaus, especially Podolia, offer the eye a very different scene. It is a landscape of ravines, the largest and finest of which is that cut by the Dnister. The table-lands of Podolia slope gently towards the south and the plateau of Kholm and Volynia. Its „mountain ridge“ is the Towtry chain formed of old coral reefs.

The Pokutia-Bessarabian plateau has a structure similar to Podolia. The plateau on the right bank of the Dnipro falls down abruptly 300 ft. to the river-bed, providing a jagged, mountainous horizon. The right bank tributaries have rocky channels and their courses are marked by frequent rapids (porohy). The most famous of these is between Dnipropetrovske and Zaporizha; they are regulated to-day and no longer an obstacle to navigation. 133

The lowlands on the left bank form a sandy plain that rises in terraces to the Central Russian Plateau. It is steppe, bare of trees and rich in loess and is therefore fertile and densely populated.

On the Donets Plateau at the bend of the Donets river big industrial towns have sprung up in the last centuries, thus completely altering the appearance of the old steppes.

The characteristic features of the Black Sea Plain are the sluggish rivers that flow between banks overgrown with reeds; where they enter the sea, they form so called "Lymany", i. e. flooded valley bottoms which are separated from the sea by a strip of land broken at more than one point. In northern Crimea we are struck by the numerous salt lakes from which salt is extracted. The Kuban plain is distinguished by its fertility and mild climate; the Caspian plain, on the other hand, is a dry steppe merging into a sandy, salty desert blown over by all the winds of heaven.

On the coast of the Black Sea which falls away in low rocks we find again the flat sandbanks of the Adriatic character (the Lido). Such a sandbank, the Arabat, on the Oziv coast separates the Sea of Oziv from the "Lazy Sea".

The southern coast of the Crimea and the Caucasus, on the other hand, is steep and provides good harbors, as the sea is deep here (e. g. Sevastopil, Novorossijske etc).

The surface of the Crimean mountains which reach a height of 3800 ft. in Roman Kosh, is eroded. On the tops there are alpine pasturages (Jajla); on the north the wooded slopes fall gently, while on the south they descend abruptly to the sea.

The Caucasus has all the characteristics of a high mountain range; the lower heights are covered with virgin forest, the massed peaks in the centre rise far above snow-line (7500 — 10 000 ft.) reaching the highest point in the giant Elbrus (ca. 17 000 ft.).

133 In the Carpathians, too, it is only the central area that was settled by the Ukrainian people; this is a rolling, hilly landscape, rising to some 7 000 ft. (Chornohora). The Carpathian foothills are fertile and thickly populated and rich in mineral wealth (petroleum in Boryslav and Jaslo, potassium and common salt in Kalush, brown coal).

b) Climate

132 The climate of Ukraine is moderate, a continental climate with big differences between summer and winter temperatures (s. table).

Table:

Area	Lat.	Longit.	Height (meters)	Temperature in Celsius				Rainfall (mm)
				av.	Jan.	July	Diff.	
Lviv	49^0 50	24^0 21	298	7.6	-4.0	18.7	22.7	690
Kyiv	50^0 27	30^0 30	183	6.9	-6.0	19.3	23.3	590
Kharkiv	50^0 00	36^0 14	140	6.6	-7.8	20.4	28.2	507
Stalingrad	48^0 42	44^0 31	42	7.7	9.9	24.7	34.6	372

Compared with that of Russia, the climate of Ukraine is warmer and more favorable to the cultivation of the soil; compared with that of western countries, it is drier and much healthier.

Climatically, Ukraine falls into four provinces, viz.:

1. the province of boreal climate (cold in winter, moderately warm in summer) lies in the north and stretches to the line Chisinau — Poltava — Voroshylivhrad — Saratov. It is favorable for the growth of forest plants.

2. the province of the dry steppe climate (cold winters, hot summers. low rainfall) stretches farther south to the mountains. Rainfall is irregularly distributed and is often insufficient for tree growth. The grass steppe is characteristic of this province.

3. the province of alpine climate includes the Carpathians, the Yaila and Caucasus ranges. The most striking feature in the alpine climate is the drop in average temperature in inverse proportion to altitude and the higher rainfall.

4. the province of oceanic climate (southern coast of Crimea /32
and that part of Sub-Caucasia that lies along the sea coast) has warm, rainy winters and hot, dry summers.

c) Rivers and Seas

The rivers of Ukraine are long and carry much water. They /33
either flow to the Baltic (Syan, Veper, Buh and Narew and 487
other tributaries of the Vistula), or to the Black Sea and the Sea of Oziv (Danube with tributaries, Dnister, Buh, Dnipro, Don with Donets etc.). The fact that the main watershed runs through the plains faciliates the construction of a network of canals connecting the seas. The Dnipro (1405 miles long and draining an area of 199 230 sq. miles) is the largest river in Ukraine. Historical settlements lie on its banks and the Ukrainian state developed along its course. For the people of Ukraine it is a sacred river.

The Buh (497 miles long, draining an area of 24 450 sq. miles) flows into the Black Sea west of the Dnipro. It has not much water and is not navigable.

South-west Ukraine is drained by the Dnister (856 miles long, area of basin 29615 sq. m.). Its course is not regulated either and it is not navigable. The rivers Prut and Cheremosh connect Ukraine with the Danube, while the Don and the Donets form the channel to the Sea of Oziv; the Kuban river drains the Kuban plain.

The Black Sea (area 158 462 sq. miles) connected by the Kerch Strait with the Sea of Oziv (area 14 615 sq. miles) has always been the channel of commerce between the eastern world and the countries round the Mediterranean. Its most important harbors, Odessa, Sevastopil, and Novorossijske are blocked by ice for a short time only; the Sea of Oziv, on the other hand, is too shallow to be navigable.

d) Flora and Fauna

The commonest tree in the northern forest zone is the pine; /37
the birch, the alder, the ash and other species also occur frequently. In the west we find beech and larch, and in the Carpathians the spruce and the fir, and sometimes even the cedar.

137 Oaks and hornbeams grow plentifully in the zone of transition between forest and the steppe while the pine prefers sandy river valleys. Vegetation in the mountains corresponds to that in western surroundings. The vast mountain pastures deserve special mention. On the coast of the Crimea and the Caucasus we find the buttertree, the cypress, the stone pine, the laurel, opuntias, agaves and other Mediterranean plants.

136 Prevalent animal species vary only slightly from those found in neighboring countries in the west. Worthy of mention are wild-cat, ermine, and bison in the forest region, bear, lynx and wild-cat in the Carpathians. In the Yaila mountains there are vultures. The Caucasus has the greatest variety of animals. It is still possible there to hunt ibex, jackals and ure-ox. On the southern slopes there are even panthers. Numerous rodents live in the steppes. The ure-ox, the beaver and the marmot are dying out.

3. Population.

a) Density

161 In 1939 the average density of the population in Ukraine was 68 persons per sq. kilometer. In the central forest-steppe zone, one of the most thickly populated agrarian areas in Europe, 80—120 people live on a sq. kilometer, between the Syan and Kursk. Northern Ukraine with its lighter soil is much more thinly populated; here the average density amounts to 40—60 persons per sq. kilometer, and in Polesya this figure even falls below 25. The density of the population in Southern Ukraine corresponds roughly to that in the north, though the Donets basin is an isolated area of dense population. The Caucasus foothills, a country with a climate at least as favorable as that of Central Ukraine is only two-thirds as densely populated, as it was colonised late. The mountains are thinly populated.

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361 The majority of the Ukrainian people live in villages; 29 % live in towns and 10 % in cities with more than 100 000 inhabitants; trade and industry are not intensively developed; we are struck by the many towns that have grown up at the frontiers between the various natural areas; there are 60 bet-

ween the forest steppe and the Kholm forests, among them 162
Lutsk, Rivne, Zhytomyr, Kyiv and Konotip. Akkerman, Odessa, 361
Mykolajiv, Kherson, Sevastopil lie on the sea coast. In all there are 18 towns with more than 100 000 inhabitants (statistics dating from 1939 and for Western Ukraine from 1931).

Kyiv	846 000
Kharkiv	833 000
Odessa	604 000
Dnipropetrovske	500 000
Stalino	462 000
Lviv	316 000
Zaporizha	289 000
Mariupil	222 000
Voroshylivhrad	213 000
Kryvyj Rih	198 000
Taganrih	189 000
Symferopil	143 000
Chernivtsi	111 000
Kerch	104 000

b) Movement of population

Movements in the population of Ukraine have been caused by 161
natural increase and emigration and immigration, these movements being more pronounced than elsewhere in Europe.

Natural Increasein 1927 per 1000	Births	Mortality	Actual Increase
USSR	40.3	17.8	22.5
North Caucasia	42.7	17.1	25.6
Crimea	44.7	18.1	26.6
Galicia	31.8	20.3	11.5
Volynia and Polesya	39.4	17.7	19.4
Carpathian Ukraine	37.4	23.3	16.1

The greatest natural increase is to be found in those parts of Ukraine that are most sparsely populated, while the lowest, determined by low birthrate, is provided by Galicia which is over-populated. Increase in purely Ukrainian elements of the population exceeds the average value for other elements inhabiting the same areas of settlement. There are no data on

161 natural increase in the Ukrainian parts of the Soviet Union. The USSR not having issued any statistics. It seems, however, that population was reduced by increased mortality.

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166 The steady flow of emigration diminished the actual increase of the Ukrainian people. West Ukrainians go to the United States and Canada, the inhabitants of the Dnipro area to the Caucasus and Asia. Movements within the frontiers shift the population slowly to the east and south, these movements being strongest towards the Basin of the Donets and the North Caucasus, and weakest towards the areas on the right banks of the Dnipro and Galicia. There is also a steady flight from the country to the town. In consequence to an increase of the collective system, of famine and flight to the town, the population of the USSR did not grow since 1932; increase of population in the towns was opposed by considerable decrease in the country.

c) National Conditions

132 National conditions in the Ukrainian territory at present have been produced by long and complicated processes which Ukraine was forced to undergo by factors such as her geographical position, the extent of her territory, movements of colonisation, natural increase, migration, lack of an independent government, etc.

In consequence, the national composition of Ukrainian areas is characterized by peculiar features, such as a mixture of nationalities in many provinces, a fairly high percentage of national minorities, a considerable difference from the ethnological point of view between the populations of town and village, and so on.

167 We find different national conditions in the different frontier districts. In the West, the Ukrainian factor receded; the frontier between Ukraine and Poland was regulated in favor of the latter and, what was more important, the entire region of the frontier was settled by Poles who had been pressing east from time immemorial, in the search for better opportunities for their surplus population. The Polish immigration in these districts is

best demonstrated by the fact that there are scarcely 100 000 Ukrainians living west of the ethnographical frontier between Ukraine and Poland, while 2.5 million Poles are to be found east of the same line. (All statistics from the end of 1932). 167

The area of the eastern frontier is different; due to pressure from Ukrainian colonisation movements, many Ukrainian "islands" appear on the eastern frontier and occur repeatedly right to the Pacific Coast. Some districts were colonised by Ukrainians and Russians in common, which explains the mixed character of the population of the foothills of the Eastern Caucasus and the Crimea.

If we consider the Ukrainian national territory as a whole, 162
within its narrower and wider boundaries, we find a large percentage of foreigners — 25 % within the narrower and up to 30 % within the wider frontiers —, although Ukrainian territory never goes beyond its ethnographical frontiers and although these national minorities are not concentrated in a few places but are scattered throughout the territory. No other extensive ethnographical unit in Europe has so many national minorities as Ukraine. The history of the Ukrainian territory is to blame for this handicap. It was repeatedly swamped by foreign peoples, the upper classes were robbed of their original nationality and in recent times Ukrainians settled unwillingly and in small numbers in towns. 167

Another characteristic of Ukrainian ethnographical territory is the great diversity in the national composition of the rural and urban population. The village is purely Ukrainian, the town mixed, often indeed of alien population. The lack of an independent political status and the reluctance of the Ukrainian peasantry to settle in towns opened the way for immigration from abroad, which in turn, helped to erase the national character of urban life; in addition, there are more Jews in the towns of Ukraine than in those of other European states. Thus the towns in the west of Ukraine are Ukrainian-Jewish-Polish, those on the Right Bank on the other hand are Ukrainian-Jewish-Russian while those on the Left Bank are Ukrainian-Russian. The following table shows the different national composition of rural and urban population. Out of every 1000 persons in Ukraine there are

	Ukrainians	Russians	Jews	Poles	Germans	Others
Town population	388	281	216	69	8	38
Rural population	767	121	18	50	14	30

The Ukrainians are unequally distributed over their ethnographical area. That part of Ukraine that was longest settled and that is most centrally situated is ethnographically purely Ukrainian, the national minorities amounting to less than 10 % of the population. This central area is a quadrangle with unequal sides, reaching in the west to the line Mohyliv-Berdychiv-Kyiv, in the east to Myropil on the line Sumy-Charkiv-Hrishyne, in the north to the White Ruthenian frontier and in the south across the steppe to the line Balta-Pershomajske-Zaporizha-Hrishyne. The Right Bank area is the most exclusively Ukrainian national territory. The population of the wide plains of this area is up to 99 % Ukrainian.

In frontier districts and also in the many mixed areas there is a large percentage of non-Ukrainians. In Galicia, the Kholm district, Podlakhia, Bucovina, Bessarabia, Slobodian Ukraine and in the areas of the Donets and the Kuban, non-Ukrainians amount to $^1/_3$ and more of the population.

In the steppe zone, too, there is a high percentage of national minorities, a result of the rapid colonisation of the steppe at the end of the 18th century. There were not sufficient Ukrainians to colonise the vast steppes, so the gaps were filled up by people of the most varied nationality — Ukrainians and Russians, many Germans as good farmers, and emigrants from the Balkans — Serbs, Bulgarians, Greeks and Moldavians. National minorities are scattered here and represent 34 % of the population as against 66 % Ukrainians, so that the latter are everywhere in the majority. We find here 14.3 % Russians, 7.1 % Jews, 4.4 % Roumanians, 4.7 % Germans, 1.3 % Greeks, 1.6 % Bulgarians and 1.6 % others. The Ukrainians exceed even the largest group, the Russians, for there are $4^1/_2$ Ukrainians for every Russian, and in the country even $7^1/_2$.

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Besides Ukrainians, the area that is ethnographically and nationally Ukrainian counts among its population Russians, Jews, Poles, Germans. The Russians, according to statistics for 1. 1. 1933, amount to 8 million and live in Slobodian Ukraine, the Donets Basin (foreign labor immigration), the coastal areas (agricultural colonies) and, alongside of Ukrainians, in the eastern foothills of the Caucasus. Jews — 3 millions — $^{2}/_{3}$ of them in towns, live west of the Dnipro (the boundary of their former settlement under the Tsars), and from 2-3 % of the population of Left Bank Ukraine and less than 1 % in Slobodian Ukraine and the Caucasus. Poles numbering 2 800 000 live in districts that were formerly part of Poland, mainly on the "black earth" belt of Galicia and the Kholm district. The other national minorities are insignificant.

If we study the development of national minorities up to the time of enforced collectivisation, we notice that the Ukrainian element in Dnipro-Ukraine was strengthened, while it receded in Western Ukraine under pressure from the Poles. We cannot tell what changes have taken place in the national element of Soviet Ukraine in recent years, as the results of the last census, held in 1939, have not been published. We can only suppose that Ukrainian national substance has suffered severe losses from the enforced collectivisation, the eviction of Ukrainian peasants, famine, and Russian immigration, especially to the towns and the Donets Basin.

d) Ukrainians outside the boundaries of the ethnographical territory

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6 millions, i. e. 13.5 % of the Ukrainian people live without its national territory, 700 000 in islands dispersed throughout neighboring western countries, above all in Batshka while others live as emigrants or laborers, especially in Germany and France. In 1933, there were 300 000 in Roumania, 100 000 in Poland, 40 000 in Czechoslovakia, 50 000 in Jugoslavia and 160 000 in other countries of Europe. 3 % of the Ukrainians — 1.3 millions — are scattered throughout the Soviet Union in Europe; the majority of these live in the lower reaches of the Volga (450 000), the middle reaches of the Volga (220 000), in the republic of

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Bashkir (80 000) and the Ural area (50 000). Besides, Ukrainians have been actively colonising Asia, their superiority in numbers as compared with the Russians may be seen in the appended table (statistics from 1926).

Asia	Surface in sqm.	Population in 1000	Ukr.	Russ.	Kas.-Sib.	Others
Kasak in Siberia	174 075	2 240	40	22	27	11
Grey Wedge	12 308	17	29	19	44	8
Green Wedge						
1) Rayon Spask	26 923	232	59	22	—	19
2) Blahovischensk	3 846	86	50	4[illegible]	—	7

The "Grey wedge" lies between the Khirgisi country and Kasakstan, the "Green wedge" on the Amur and near Spask.

1.3 million Ukrainians live in America (U.S.A. 7—800 000, Canada 3-400 000, South America 130 000).

e) Ukrainians in the world

At the end of 1932 there were 43-44 million Ukrainians; as far as numbers go, they are the second of the Slav peoples, and the seventh among European nations. The number of Ukrainians living in the different states towards the end of the years 1938 and 1940 was:

States	Ukrainians in million	in the world Percentage of Ukrainians
a) 1938	[1]	
Soviet-Union	34.4	79.1
Poland	6.0	13.8
Roumania	1.1	2.5
U.S.A.	0.7	1.6
Czechoslovakia	0.6	1.4
Canada	0.3	0.7
And others	0.4	0.9

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[1] Among these 25.6 millions in Soviet-Ukraine.

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine RDl

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States	Ukrainians in millions	Percentage of Ukrainians in the world
b) 1940	2)	
Soviet-Union	40.2	92.4
Germany	0.8	1.8
Hungary	0.6	1.4
U.S.A.	0.7	1.6
Canada	0.3	0.7
And others	0.9	2.1
Total	43.5	100

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2) Among these 30.7 millions in Soviet-Ukraine.

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine RDl

The Ukrainian People

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In general, the Ukrainians have marked national characteristics which make it easy to recognise them even beyond the frontiers of Ukrainian territory. They belong to the Indogermanic group — an old Slav people that grew out of elements provided by Asia Minor and Mediterranean countries. Their original home is that of all Slavs. Its neighbors in the north-west were the Baltic-Lithuanian group, in the south-west it impinged on the Thracian group. In the southern part of the territory which was not originally colonised by the Ukrainians they came into fruitful contact with the Greeks, whose influence spread as far as Poltava in early historic times.

The first Germanic colonisation in the third century before Christ interrupted the contact with the west which had brought old Mediterranean culture to the Ukrainians.

Connections with the Asiatic group of Indogermanic tribes lasted for another hundred years and were disrupted by nomadic hordes from the Urals who destroyed the last remaining Iranic tribes and from that time until the 18th century made the Ukraine steppe unsafe. Wanderings and attacks by nomadic tribes have had no influence on the physical and psychical development of the Ukrainians.

Nations of Slavonic peoples began to form between the third and fourth centuries. At that time the neighbors of the Ukrainians' ancestors in the south-west and the west were South- Slavonic and Czech tribes. In the north and north-west they were in contact with Russian, later White Ruthenian groups, though only as far as culture goes, for racially there was no contact. There is no proof that the "primeval Russian" transitional groups ever existed, though many philologists assert the contrary. On the other hand, the Ukrainian people, as the central group of central Slavs contributed much to the formation of the Russian and White Ruthenian groups of peoples.

Ukrainians appeared first in history as the "Antes" who pushed the Goths farther and farther west and who were the masters of the steppe on the shores of the Black Sea from the Dnister to the Sea of Oziv and also of the forest steppe farther north between the fourth and sixth centuries.

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The Slav migration dates from this time; the Western Slavs slowly moved towards the Vistula, the Oder and the Elbe while the South Slavs wandered to the Balkans, perhaps a little later. Thereupon, ancient Ukrainian tribes also expanded to the west and the south-west, reached the Vistula and, in constant conflict, held these areas against the Poles till the 11th century and longer in parts. In the South the coast of the Sea of Oziv and the Black Sea was occupied and, at the close of the sixth century or, at latest, at the beginning of the seventh, the central Carpathian area and Carpathian Ukraine — long before the Magyars came.

During this period when the Antes were supreme, the formation and the character of the Ukrainian people was strongly influenced by the Goths. The ancestors of the Ukrainians in those days were separate tribes with no tendency to national unity. It was only when towns were founded (Kyiv, Chernyhiv, and others) and when trade connections were developed that the tribes came closer to each other, thus making it possible form a state under a Germanic Viking dynasty. The capital was Kyiv, which had assumed the former rôle of the Greek towns Olbia and Kherson since the 9th century and had become the most important center of trade in Eastern Europe.

Nestor's chronicle and other sources mention many old Ukrainian tribes who lived in accordance with customs of their own (above all marriage and funeral customs). Leadership was in the hands of the numerically small but centrally situated tribe of the Polyany. West of them, as far as the Prypyat, the Derevlyany settled while the largest tribe of the Severyany were particularly active in pushing east and settled on the Desna, the Sejm and the Sula. South of the Polyany on the western bank of the Dnipro were the Ulichy and the Tyvertsy to the west of these, on the Dnister and at times on the Danube; in the 10th century, however, they were forced north and north-west by pressure from the Magyars and Pechenegs.

Many tribes, among them the Duliby, lived in the west of the old Ukrainian area. Tribal names soon made way for political designations which, as for instance in the case of the Volynians, have been preserved till to day. Altogether the tribes of

101 175 Western Ukraine, which were later organised in the united state of Galicia and Volynia, are more pronouncedly national than the Eastern tribes round Kyiv. The Ukrainian tribes were united by the end of the 10th century and the beginning of the 11th, this process being promoted by a common religion and a common culture composed of Byzantine and Slav influences; at the same time the feelings of unity among Ukrainian peoples was furthered by political pressure from the Poles and the princes of Suzdal and Vladimir at the head of a growing Russian people (since the 12th century). Other factors that helped this union were the transfer of the political center of Ukraine to the west and the political and cultural tendencies of the Lithuanian-Ukrainian state..

It is only in the north and on the western frontiers of Ukraine that many traditional features and a great variety of signs betraying differences between tribes have been preserved. Here, and in parts of the Carpathian area there are rich sources of ancient Ukrainian folklore.

101 181 These Ukrainians of the mountains and the foothills fall into the three almost equal groups of Lemky, Bojky, and Hutsuly. The Lemky, also called the Lemaky, south of the Carpathians, inhabit the upper course of almost all the Carpathian tributaries of the Vistula and the Visloka as far as the Syan and, along with the foothill group of the Samishantsi (in the Jaslo area), are often called Ruthenians. They cling to their traditions and are economically in a sound position. They were the natural mediators between the Ukrainians and the Western and Southern Slavs, for instance, in the art of folkpoetry. Syanik and Krynytsja are the chief centers in this area.

The Boyky or Verkhovyntsi (dwellers in mountain pastures) live east of the Syan, in the districts of Sambir, Turka, Drohobych, Dolyna, and Kalush and also south of the Carpathian range. The inhabitants of the southern areas of the Bojky in the Carpathian Ukraine were also called Dolyniany (valley dwellers) and are rightly deemed to be the pioneers of the ancient Ukrainian colonisation in the South Carpathians, being in many respects different from their brethren in the north. The Tukholtsi, round Skole and Smorze, are another group that are racially distinct from the rest of the Bojky. In contrast to the latter, who devote themselves above all to cattle-rearing, they are particularly gifted for trade and were known throughout Galicia as smart traders in fruit and wine.

The Hutsuly, known also abroad as gifted craftsmen (weaving, wood and metal work, ceramics and embroidery) live in the Eastern Carpathians (on the upper reaches of the Prut and its tributaries) in Bucovina round the little town of Vyshnycya, and in the neighborhood of Marmaroshsiget and Hust. In the north-east they join the kindred tribe, the Pokutyany (in the districts of Tovmatsh, Horodenka, Obertyn, Snjatyn and Kuty) who are distinguished by rich folk-poetry and a highly developed sense for art.

North of these mountain tribes we meet the Western Ukrainians proper, who call themselves Ruthenians. They fall into several groups, mostly distinguished by costume and other externals e. g. the Pidhiriany (dwellers in foothills) in the Carpathian foothills as far as the Dnister, the Dolyniany in the Syan valley, in the districts of Peremyshl and Jaroslav and the Batjuki in the districts of Zhovkva, Rava Ruska and Javoriv.

In the East follow the Opolany (as far as the Strypa and the Seret) in the districts of Lviv, Bibrka, Rohatyn, Peremyshlany, Berezhany and Pidhajci; then still further east, the Podoliany and to the north the Volyniany who join the racially more uniform area of Eastern Ukraine.

Ukrainians of the north and north-west have also preserved traces of the customs of the original tribes — for instance the Zabuzhany on the Buh, the Podlashany round Siedlce. The Polesyany ("Polishuky") between Prypyat and Dnipro, show traces of ancient culture; their language is still mediaeval and there are pre-Christian elements in their religious services while their costume reminds us of pictures from the old Kyiv state. They are divided into Polesyany proper, Pyntshuky, Volyniany and Chernyhiv-Polesyany; groups in the north from the still unstudied transition to the White Ruthenians.

Though at first sight there appear to be many differences in the Ukrainian people, they are in reality of small account;

101 they are certainly no reason for a further national division. 181 The common cultural heritage is so great that it covers all pecularities.

The differences usually cited as important between formerly Austrian and formerly Russian Ukrainians are limited to historical influences. The ethnographical limits of Ukraine have never coincided with politic.. frontiers; as far as culture goes, "Austrian West Ukraine" stretched almost to Kyiv, while, on the other hand, definitely East Ukrainian phenomena in the language that were characteristic for "Russian East Ukraine" actually begin to appear in "Austrian" Podolia and Pokutja.

144 142 The anthropological structure of Ukraine is much more complicated. The Ukrainian people is composed of at last six racial types (Dinaric, Mediterranean, Alpine, Nordic, Subnordic and Lapponid). The original inhabitants were mostly fair and long-skulled, (Nordic racial type) then these were flooded by the Armenoid, round-headed dark race from the south-east which naturally left marks. This process produced new racial types, which also came into contact with aboriginal Asiatics in the north-east and with the numerous and prolific Mediterranean races originally from Greece and Jtaly, and produced in turn more new racial mixtures. Of all these racial mixtures with a nordic foundation, the most important is the Dinaric which appears immediately before the Bronze Age; since the Middle Ages the decisive element in the Ukrainian type has been Dinaric, to which class almost one half (44 %) of the present-day Ukrainians belong. Dinaric is a round headed dark type with a long and narrow face. Another important racial element in the national Ukrainian type is the Alpine (22 %) also a round headed dark type, but with a round face. Those two races determine the national Ukrainian type (66 %), other elements being more rare and only characteristic of frontier areas.

141 The Ukrainians belong to the Caucasian race and have an average cephalic index of 83.2 (varying from 82.8 to 89.8); the face is narrow, the nose straight and fairly narrow, the arms relatively short, the legs long, the figure being over average height (about 5 ft. 7), while the hair and the eyes are mostly dark

In the northern zone of the country, including northern parts of the Kyiv and Chernyhiv areas and Northern Volynia purely Nordic elements prevail, alongside of Subnordic, Nordic and Laponoid mixtures; the middle zone is mostly Dinaric, above all in Podolia and Southern Volynia, Eastern Galicia (without the Hutsuly and Bojky) and in the extreme east of the Kharkiv area. 144

But the Dinaric domain proper is the southern zone of Ukraine, including Carpathian Ukraine, the Hutsul area, Bucovina, Southern Podolia and all adjacent territory in the south and south-east including the Crimea and the Kuban area. Ukrainians in this area are definitely short-headed, darkish, tall, (about 5 ft. 9) and most resemble the South Slavs. On the middle reaches of the Dnister, the Prut and the Boh there are more marked traces of the Mediterranean race.

A certain deliberateness and modesty are characteristic for the Ukrainian who is most sensitive to impressions from without, though he reacts slowly to them. He is of balanced, even temperament and has humor and irony which help him to cope with the irritations of everyday life. He judges life from the standpoint of feeling; favorable climatic conditions and the relatively easy work in the fields betray him into a certain quiescence. Nevertheless, the Ukrainian loves his work and is most active in intellectual, artistic and practical provinces. On the other hand, hard times both in the past and at present have made him suspicious and increased his innate individualism. In social intercourse, for instance, although he is friendly, he is reserved rather than importunate. Revenge and cruelty are foreign to his nature. 157

As is the case with most old peasant peoples, the relationship of the Ukrainian to others is based on definite forms, that express social culture, good manners, courtesy and hospitality. 156 Contrary to the Russian custom, authority in the home is shared by the head of the house and his wife; the functions of the latter extend beyond the duties of housekeeping and the upbringing of children and she has a say in all economic questions. Children enjoy a relatively generous amount of freedom and may be present at the customary morning and evening 593

593 meetings ("posydilky" and "Vetshernytsi"), and even at the
584 street meetings that are held at night ("vulytsja"); marriage is
seldom an affair of arrangement. After marriage, children
591 generally leave their parents' home; a father often provides a
home of his own for a son who wishes to marry.

586 Divorce is rare in the country. An unlucky choice of a conjugal
partner is borne with patience. Up till recently, in spite of the
836 fact that boys and girls are constantly thrown together at work
and at play, a high standard of chastity prevailed and illicit
sexual intercourse was the exception. A "pokrytka" who has been
seduced by a Russian soldier ("saldatka") or a foreigner (mostly
a Pole) has no easy lot in the country. The whole family is
deeply ashamed when the "bundling" custom ("komora") which
is still practised in some parts of the country reveals that the
183 bride is no longer a virgin. Customs have been strengthened
by the respect for national traditions, a deep religious feeling
561 and tolerance. Birth, baptism, marriage, death and burial
are accompanied by very many, original, symbolic customs,
dating partly from before the birth of Christ. For instance, the
old custom of duly "recognising" the newborn has been preserved
as well as the ceremony of the baptismal banquet which
marks the reception of the newly born child into the community.

585 In the varied wedding customs which generally take the
better part of three days, there are memories of the days when
the men of the tribe kidnapped or bought their brides. A marriage
in a national setting has many dramatic effects and is
accompanied by a whole series of symbolical actions and choruses.
They remind us of the original rôle of the family in
society. Customs from the world of the Grand Princes have
been preserved in those marriage rites as in the ritualistic
folk-songs, while the influence of the church is confined to the
765 actual ceremony in the church. The wake ("posyzhinja") and
the wake games, which are dying out, are echoes of ancestor-worship
and intended to prevent the dead from returning to
life. The custom of special laments for the dead ("holosinnia")
and the funeral banquet (formerly "tryzna") have persisted; on
the many days of commemoration of the dead (e. g. on the

765 40th day after death, at Easter, Whitsuntide, and on St. Dimitry's day) special dishes are eaten.

796 The course of the year in Ukraine is accompanied by many old customs which are not to be found among Russians but which resemble those of Southern Slavonic peoples. They spring from the world of Pontium and Greece and Rome; such are the festivals at Christmas ("koljada"), New Year ("novyj rik"), the consecration of water ("shtshedryj vetshir"), Easter ("hayivky"), the beginning of spring ("vesnyanky"), solstice ("kupalo"), the beginning of autumn ("Andrija") etc. They are accompanied by games and country dances, of which there are several thousand. The beginning of the most important agricultural operations is also celebrated (building the house, ploughing, sowing, driving the cows to pasture, hay and grain harvest etc).

771 Ukrainian demonology, founded on ancient animistic beliefs, has, in contrast to the Russian, lost all its terrors; the devil, for instance, is stripped of all horror. Magic and the belief in witchcraft are very probably of more modern, partly Christian origin. There is no higher mythology. The worship of fire and water is more developed and there are some faint traces of the worship of plants. Much of popular belief is preserved in fairy 538 tales, fables, sagas, legends, proverbs and riddles, of which there is an inexhaustible store. Some 4 years ago Savtshenko found 2000 main variants of Ukrainian fairy tales, compared with about 1700 Russian and 1500 White Ruthenian versions. V. Hnatjuk has counted 327 fables of animals (exclusive of variants). We must finally mention the incredible wealth of popular stories and anecdotes.

But the Ukrainian people's most precious spiritual possession is their folk-poetry, one of the richest in Europe and charactorised by aesthetic values, depth of poetic feeling and perfection of form. F. v. Bodenstedt, who published "Die poetische Ukraine" in 1843 put these Ukrainian poems above those of all other nations. Hohol said of them that they comprehended poetry and history and were a monument to the nation's ancestors. Every kind of song is represented, from the traditional songs of ritual and later ballads tu the short song of to-day ("Shumky", "Kozatshky", "Kolomyjky" and "Tshabarashky"). These histo-

538 rical ballads (dumy) which glorify and preserve the whole of the
past of Ukraine, are deservedly famous.

533 The Ukrainian folk-song which has been handed down in
many collections and manuscripts from the 16th century, enjoys
a great reputation both at home and abroad. These songs
were sung at Lithuanian and Polish courts (14th - 16th cen-
turies) and before Tsars and boyars in Moscow down to the
second half of the 18th century. They were admired in Tur-
key and Italy too, and found honorable mention as early as
1675 in Herbigny's collection "Religiosae Kijovienses Cryptae".

534 The Ukrainian accompanies his singing on many instruments:
there are the "kobza" and the "bandura", stringed instruments
of foreign origin, cymbals which are unknown to the Russians,
bag-pipes ("duda"), a peculiar kind of flute ("svyril") and the
mountain pipe ("trembita"); primitive instruments like the lyre
535 have also persisted. The dance plays a comparatively minor
part. Besides the ceremonious dances ("kolo") there are round
dances ("hopak", "kozatshok" and "kolomyjka"), and the old
sword dance is found among the Hutsuly.

531 A richly developed folk-art is on the same level as the folk-
poetry and music; it finds expression above all in national
costumes and ornaments, in painted Easter eggs, embroidery,
in the complicated weaving and wood-carving patterns and in
bead-work, ceramics, furniture and household utensils.

291 The ornate costumes often show in their embroidery influen-
531 ces from the East, the South and the Balkans. Particular atten-
tion is paid to embroidery on shirts, while women's skirts
("plakhty") and men's coats are often magnificent works of
art for which, according to the district, homespun linen and
woollen stuffs are used. Embroidery patterns utilise geometric
forms as well as conventional flowers and leaves.

352 Furniture consists mainly of benches, a carved table, painted
531 and inlaid chests ("skryni") and a carved pottery cupboard
("mysnyk"). The room is, in addition, decorated with paint-
ings, embroidered towels and carpets; in Eastern Ukraine the
stove is also painted.

342 The typical Ukrainian house ("khata") is a low house, all on the ground floor; it consists of a living room ("svitlytsja"), a vestibule ("siny") and a bedroom ("komora"). It is built of wood, willows, twigs or reeds, plastered over with clay. In the steppe bricks dried in the sun and made of clay, chaff or chopped straw, are used. Larger stones or short, thick wooden props form the foundation. In mountain areas and in richly wooded Polesia, houses are mostly made of wood. The roofs of Ukrainian houses are usually square and covered with straw, reeds or shingles according to the district.

The Ukrainian farm-house is carefully fenced and surrounded by a garden with fruit and flowers. The house is separate from the farm buildings which are generally round a yard ("obijstja") beside the house; in Northern Ukraine, the latter is smaller, but has a roof of its own. In areas inhabited by Hutsuly, Bojky and partly also by Lemky, house and buildings are under one roof and connected by a roofed passage, ("hrasda").

The wooden churches, a native creation of high artistic 346
value, are a peculiar charm of Ukrainian architecture. We find
the oldest forms in Podolia and the country of the Bojky.
The wooden churches of the Hutsuly show Byzantine influence,
the churches in Carpathian Ukraine, Gothic, and those in the
territory of the Lemky, baroque tendencies. The village in 361
Ukraine generally consists of a group of houses with several
irregular streets; in the mountains, in areas inhabited by Bojky
and Lemky, there are long chain villages, while the Hutsuly
prefer the collection of peasant-houses as found in the steppe.
In north-west Ukraine there are also chain villages, usually
consisting of two streets, which, in Polesya and Volynia, cross
each other; in the plains the villages rarely number more than
1000 inhabitants, but in Podolia and Volynia there are also
villages with 3000, 4000 and more inhabitants.

241 Ukrainians are occupied chiefly with agriculture; cattle are reared, particularly in the Carpathians and in the foothill areas, partly also in the steppe. Up till recently, agricultural methods were primitive. Later, however, more modern ways of cultivation and a rotation of crops were introduced and the entire industry modernised.

241 Nevertheless, old traditions are preserved in connection with agricultural implements and habits. The Ukrainian peasant uses the ancient Slav "ralo" with one plowshare and the old plow reminiscent of Roman models, which is unknown to Russian and White Ruthenian peasants. Up till recently the heavy wooden plow was used in the steppe, drawn by 14 - 16 oxen. As with South and West Slavs, the ox is here the animal usually used for draught, and not the horse, as with the Russians.

The scythe is the most important implement for harvesting. Wheat, rye and barley are cut with the scythe which has developed curious 3-blade forms in Ukraine. The sheaves are first laid together in small stacks, composed of 30 sheaves and called "polukipok". This traditional harvesting operation is known to-day only in Ukraine and White Ruthenia. The latter nation, on the other hand, and the Russians use the drying kiln for grain which has never become common in Ukraine, being used only in Volynia and in the north of the district round Chernyhiv.

Threshing is done by flail ("cip"), a characteristic form
of which appears also in Mecklenburg. In the south, in addition
to threshing by means of a wheel-cart drawn by oxen ("har-
nanyty"), a roller is also used, while in Bessarabia and the
Kuban area, special boards ("mjalky") are found, such as are
also used extensively to-day in Greece and Macedonia. Threshing
is mostly done in special sheds ("tik") and in winter on ice and
in barns ("stodola"), which have a small floor specially for this
purpose. The threshing procedure of the Ukrainian differs also
from that of the Russian; he does not lay the sheaves out in
rows like the latter, but threshes not more than 2 - 3 sheaves
at once. Grain is stored in granaries and in the steppe also in
251 pearshaped pits or in straw-containers ("solomjanyk"); in the
Carpathians, Polesya and Volynia the custom of storing grain
in hollowed trees ("kadovby") is still preserved. In Podolia,
Bessarabia and in Southern Ukraine generally maize is gathered
231 and dried in special contraptions, woven like baskets. The shape
of the bee-hives in Ukraine is also peculiar. In addition to
the forest hives ("kolody") there are also hives lying or standing
000 on a log or piece of wood ("lezen" or "stojan"). The peculiar

and often ancient methods and apparatuses used in catching 000
fish in Ukraine are also worth mentioning.

The food of the peasants is almost exclusively vegetarian and 262
consists of bread and cake, vegetables and milk. Although meat 252
is eaten only on very special occasions, the menu is not monotonous. Bread is made of wheat or rye, in the mountains also of barley. The Ukrainians leaven their bread but, in contrast to the Russians, usually bake it without salt. Some unleavened kinds of bread ("mlynets", "perepitshka") are used for ritualistic purposes.

The national dishes in Ukraine are "borshtsh", a soup made of the juice of pickled beetroot ("kvas"); "halushky" boiled flour dumplings of unleavened buckwheat or wheat flour, "varenyky", called "pyrohy" in Western Ukraine, small flour pastries, filled with potatoes, curd, millet, cabbage and so on, which are boiled and eaten with sour cream, butter or honey; "holubtsy" = cabbage roulades; "kasha" = porridge; "kysil", a sourish porridge of flour; in Southern Ukraine "kulesha" or "mamalyga" = maize porridge and finally, different soups with dough ("zatyrka") and cabbage ("kapusnjak").

Ritual dishes are "kutja" (wheat and honey) and "uzvar" (Christmas dish of dried fruit). Salted lard ("salo") and bacon ("solonyna") are much used at cooking. In periods of fasting, food is baked in oil. Roasting and smoking are not usual cooking procedures, but boiling in pure butter or fat is popular.

The national beverages are brandy ("horilka"), mead ("med"), 273
honey boiled with brandy ("varenukha"), "kvas", made of sour rye, biscuit or fruit, in places also a drink of millet malt ("braha") and birch, and maple juice.

The Ukrainian is good at all peasant crafts, especially at wood 32
work, carpentry, turnery and rope-making. Weaving and furrier-work is widely practised and ceramic work is done everywhere, while work in metal which was formerly common, has almost died out. Tailoring to-day is also mostly in the hands of foreigners. 28

The Ukrainian Language

197 Ukrainian belongs to the Slavonic branch of the family of Indogermanic languages and this branch again divides into South Slav, West Slav and East Slav. Ukrainian, with Russian and White Ruthenian, forms the East Slav group which is an intermediary among Slavonic languages. Morphologically Ukrainian is like Russian, phonetically it approaches Serbo-Croatian and, as far as meaning goes, it has much in common with Polish. The north-west area of Ukrainian lies in the region of the home of Slavonic languages.

195 The development of Ukrainian as an independent language dates from the 9th century. Up to the end of the 18th century, old Church Slavonic, which had come with Christianity mainly from Bulgaria, served as the language of literature. With Ukrainian additions this has remained the language of the church up till the present. It is also the vehicle for historical chronicles (the Nestor Chronicle, the Chronicle of Galicia and Volynia) and the Igor Song, the greatest epic of the 12th century. Most of the literary monuments of those days, however, were destroyed in the wars against the Asiatic hordes. And yet the importance of old Church Slavonic as used in Ukraine spread far beyond the frontiers of the country; it became the court language of the Grand Princes of Lithuania and the official
197 language in Moldavia. Literary activity increased in Ukraine
538 in the 17th century but the subjects treated were taken from religion and so Church Slavonic continued to be the vehicle of literary expression. Historical works in the 17th and 18th centuries, the Cossack Chronicles by Velychko, Samovydets and the "History of the Ruthenes" (Istorija Rusow) are written in Church Slavonic with popular Ukrainian and Polish additions and many foreign words. At the same time individual writers are already writing in the national language, for example Nekrashevych, Gavatovych, partly also Skovoroda, while "Dumy", folksongs and anonymous verses are also written in Ukrainian.

About the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries Ukrainian finally managed to establish itself, for which Kotlarevskyj's travesty of the Aeneid (1798) was originally responsible. Literature becomes a national concern (cf. Kvitka-Osnovjanenko, Metlynskyj, Hrebinka etc.). Shevchenko, the greatest Ukrainian 197 poet and Panko Kulish, the most eminent scholar of those days 538 helped to perfect Ukrainian as a literary language. As all these writers came from Eastern Ukraine, the literary language grew from the East Ukrainian dialects of Poltava, Kharkiv and Kyiv.

In subsequent years Ukrainian became a still finer instrument in the hands of Marko Vovchok, Hlibiv, Konyskyj, Storoshenko and Shashkevych in Galicia and Fedjkovych in Bucovina.

After the Russian government laid a ban on Ukrainian (1876), literary and scientific life was concentrated in Lviv, the Ukrainian center in Austria-Hungary. This meant that western dialects came to their own, for many writers from Eastern Ukraine now published their works in the west (Myrnyj and Nechuj-Levytskyj, novelists; Starytskyj, dramatist and poet; Tobylevych, dramatist and later Hrinchenko, Kotsjubynskyj, Samijlenko and Lesja Ukrayinka, the greatest Ukrainian poetess). Ivan Franko is one of the greatest Ukrainians from the west at this time.

In Galicia a scientific and technical terminology developed so that in 1918 Ukrainian could take its place as the official language of the independent Ukrainian state and later of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. The following modern writers have done much to enhance the reputation of Ukrainian as a literary language: Olha Kobylanska, Bohdan Lepkyj, Vasyl Stefanyk (in a literary Pokutish-Volynian dialect), Oleksander Oles, Spyrydon Cherkasenko, Pavlo Tychyna, Maksym Rylskyj, Mykola Khvylovyj, Oleksa Slisarenko, Jurij Janovskyj, Jewhen Malaniuk, Bohdan Ihor Antonych etc.

The scientific study of the Ukrainian language was promoted 814 above all by the Ukrainian Academy of Learning in Kyiv: Ukrainian has up till now been taught in lectures and tutorial courses in the universities of Berlin, Königsberg, Vienna, Münster, Halle, Prague, Naples and Paris. But Ukrainian philology was first studied in the 17th century (Grammar by M. Smotrytskyj in 1618). Two hundred years later A. Pavlovskyj's grammar, the first to deal with Ukrainian as a national language, appeared in Petersburg. And it is a Ukrainian, Oleksander Potebnya (1835—1891) who is the founder of Slavonic philology.

113 814 Several Ukrainian grammars have appeared in German, e. g. "Studien auf dem Gebiete der ruthenischen Sprache" (Studies in Ruthenian) by P. Ogonovski, Lemberg 1880. St. Smal-Stotskyj and Th. Gärtner wrote the "Grammatik der ruthenischen Sprache" (Ruthenian Grammar), Vienna 1913. Two books that served practical purposes were M. Simovych's "Grammatik zum Selbstunterricht" (Grammar for Home Students) and Jaroslav Rudnytskyj's "Lehrbuch der ukrainischen Sprache" (Course in Ukrainian), Leipzig 1940.

B. Hrinchenko compiled the most important dictionary: "Slovar ukraijinskoji movy", Kyiv 1907—1909. The Russian-Ukrainian dictionary published under the auspices of the Ukrainian Academy by A. Krymskyj and S. Jefremov is said to be the best of its kind: "Rosijsko-ukraijinskyj slovnyk" (to the letter P) Kyiv, 1924—1928. A large Ukrainian-German dictionary appeared in 1943. It was compiled by Z. Kuzela and J. Rudnytskyj with the collaboration of Prof. Dr. K. H. Meyer and published by the Ukrainian Scientific Institute at Berlin. V. Kmitsykevych and V. Spilka published a German-Ukrainian dictionary (Czernovitz 1912); others were published by I. Sharovolskyj (Kyiv 1931) and H. Nakonetshna (Leipzig 1939).

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The Basic Traits of the Ukrainian People

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The cultural influences at work for thousands of years since the Secondary Stone Age in Ukrainian territory have naturally left traces: though the contribution of each varied, they combined to shape the spirit of the Ukrainian as we see it in all his actions and thoughts, in his whole conduct of life, or, to put it in general terms, in his view of the world. And when we pause to seek the basis of the specifically Ukrainian view of the world, our consciousness is suddenly flooded with the certainty that the spiritual life of the entire nation has its deepest source in an intimate relation to the soil, to Mother Earth.

The Ukrainians are a people of peasants. There is no question of that. Even a hasty review of the history of Ukraine provides incontrovertible proof that it is not only an agricultural country to-day, but that it has always been an agricultural country for hundreds, nay thousands, of years.

This has meant that the population of these areas has always been in closest touch with the soil and that this intimacy with Mother Earth is particularly characteristic of the entire Ukrainian peasantry even in our own days. And this orientation of the inner man holds not only for one class, but for the entire nation, for the intelligentsia of to-day, the intellectual leaders of the people, has, in the main, sprung from the peasantry and the purely urban population, middleclass as well as laborers, is composed either of foreigners or of immigrants from the open country. The entire Ukrainian nation is to-day deeply rooted in its native soil, a circumstance which it regards as its most effective weapon, with the help of which it has managed not only to cling to the land given it by fate, in spite of numerous onslaughts by nomads both ancient and modern, but also to cherish no mean policy of expansion even in modern times. We find sufficient examples in the settlement of Siberia and other territory in the Far East, the emigration of agricultural workers to Canada and the United States. It is self-evident that such an intimate connection with the soil for almost a thousand years must have its counterpart in the spirit of the Ukrainian people. An extraordinarily strong and organic dependence of man on the soil that he cultivates and that nourishes him is

181 everywhere clearly reflected in language and literature, in habits and customs, in manifestations of religious life, in the cultural process, in music, art, and philosophy.

538 Taras Shevchenko, the intellectual leader of the Ukrainian
181 people and the national poet, was indissolubly bound to the black soil of his home, glebae adscriptus, the son of a serf, for whom a ransom of 2500 roubles had first to be paid by friends before he was physically free from the chains that bound him to the earth. To free him spiritually from Mother Earth was an impossibility, for the poet's soul was so firmly rooted in his native soil, that to have severed it from its roots would have meant spiritual death.

And it is not merely striving for external effect, but a genuine symbol of the spiritual make-up of the Ukrainian people that its national poet, though no more a serf but a fêted artist and poet, welcome in the best society of the Russian capital, is mostly portrayed in peasant costume and is handed down to posterity in this guise. Shevchenko, as a poet, was the people itself, so that external events in his life acquire symbolic significance for the entire nation. Ivan Franko, the most eminent poet of Western Ukraine, also a man of the people, bears witness to the peasantry as the foundation of a new period in the development of man:

"I am a peasant — prologue, not epilogue"

Another prominent champion of intellectual life in Ukraine is Skovoroda, a philosopher who lived in the 18th century. He is the Ukrainian Socrates and is a product of his native country, intimately connected with his surroundings and his time. We should be puzzled by his work if it were viewed apart from his relation to the broad mass of the peasantry; the whole significance of his teaching and influence can only be grasped if we remember that he was in direct contact with those elements in Ukrainian intellectual life which were deeply rooted in and inspired by the Black Earth.

V. Lypynskyj, the Ukrainian historian and sociologist of today, sums up and evaluates this intimacy with the soil in his "Letters to my Brother-Farmers", which appeared in 1921/22. He was the first to emphasise this essential feature of national

ideology and to make a militant peasantry the foundation and 538
the pillar of the modern Ukrainian state. 181

We find an astonishingly simple, but profound synthesis of this entire peasant philosophy, the product of the soil, in "The Soil", a short, moving story by Vasyl Stefanyk, a contemporary poet; "Our destiny is the soil; forsake it and you are lost, cling to it and it will develop all your powers and draw out your very soul in the hollow of its hand; embrace it, subject yourself to it and it will suck the life-blood out of your veins — but in return, you have herds of sheep and horses and full stack-yards; and for your strength it will give you a cabin full of children and grand-children whose laughter is like silver bells and whose cheeks are red as the fruit of the snow ball tree . . ."

The profound love of the Ukrainian for the beauties of 181
Nature springs from his connection with the soil, a love 517
which seems to be firmly anchored in the depths of his soul. This aesthetic sense which is nurtured by natural forms, is reflected by the deep longing to express beauty of form, harmony of color and originality of theme in domestic surroundings, in dress or in the utensils of everyday life. Aesthetic, and not practical considerations always play the most important part, whether it be the construction of a church, the planning of a garden round a cottage, the weaving of an apron or a kerchief, the making of a table or a bench.

It is obvious that the very rich and valuable folk music and the no less rich and original folk poetry are also based on laws of aesthetic pleasure, derived from intimate intercourse with Nature and experience of her beauties.

And the Ukrainian's traditional and age-long contact with 181
Nature is the tenacious bond between him and his culture and that of Western Europe, while at the same time it distinguishes him from the Muscovite, his neighbor in the North-East. For the latter people had never had any feeling for the soil; it regards agriculture not as an expression of love for Mother Earth, but as a necessity, or as a chance of making money. On the other hand, the Muscovites are the best traders among Slavonic peoples. The real farmer, too firmly rooted in the

181 earth and in his functions, who remains in the same place for generations, becomes too fixed in his habits and loses the mobility which is naturally the first essential quality of nomad peoples and which brings great advantages in trade.

The Ukrainian view of the world is based very definitely on idealism. The actions and resolutions of the Ukrainian are based not on objective reality as it confronts us, but on an ideal „reality“ which contains many elements derived from imagination and fancy. Ukrainian history offers us many examples of this. I quote only two prominent instances:

181 538 Kostomariv, the Ukrainian historian, inspired by Messianic ideas, writes a gospel of the Ukrainian people, proclaiming its destiny as a leader in the history of mankind. The aim of this work was to bring new strength to the oppressed nation and to give new content to its life which was founded on a very sad reality; it soared so high in the clouds of idealising speculation, so oblivious of actual facts, that it was scarcely possible to establish a connection between it and real life. While it may be maintained that a people cannot be solely guided by conditions of life here and now, that it cannot do without ideals, that, on the contrary, development and progress are impossible without any inciting aim, even if it is beyond human grasp - nevertheless its efforts to rise must spring from its actual surroundings and not from the fantastic realm of the imagination. — Franko, in spite of the sad experience of his own life of suffering, is also an idealist who believes in man, in his innate goodness, his love of beauty and moral conduct. All the characters in his books, even the worst of them, often display good traits, or at least traces of a positive attitude to life which suffice to keep the chances of improvement open. It is more than obvious that these characters are not bad by nature, but that they have degenerated under the influence of different circumstances. Some critics assert that it was only this belief in an idealised humanity, in the possibility of progress, that gave Franko the moral courage to carry on in spite of bitter disappointment, and to work like one possessed for the welfare of his people and its culture.

The Ukrainian's tendency to idealise, is also expressed in his 181
relation to the weaker sex which generally enjoys a position of 562
superiority in Ukrainian society. In literature, too, the Ukrainian woman appears in such an idealised and spiritualised form that even her faults, her foibles, do not detract from her spiritual value, but serve rather to enhance her charm and attractiveness.

The sense for actual reality is almost completely suffocated 181
by the enthusiasm of the soul for the world of the imagination, 562
for the ideal. 19th century drama contains a goodly company
of women with a positive attitude to life — national heroines 536
like Marusja Bohuslavka, lovable girls, good and faithful to boredom like Natalie of Poltava, unhappy victims of male seduction like Shevchenko's Kateryna and finally, prophetesses with an air of tragedy like the Ukrainian Cassandra. We must not forget that, except for the last named, these old-fashioned plays are still popular with the Ukrainian public and are performed even to-day, times without number, with great success throughout Ukraine, in the towns as well as in the remotest villages.

Western systems of thought have always been founded on the 812
personal consciousness of the individual. Beginning with Plato in ancient Greece philosophical speculation has always started from individual consciousness as the only evident reality which is disputed by no one, a process which is still more evident in modern philosophy from Descartes on. Fichte's system is based on the philosophy of the ego which elsewhere appears in philosophy as a complete entity, independent of all other features, a sovereign being, which, in the intellectual world, is usually the final foundation of a concrete reality.

Here Ukrainians, in contrast to Russians, are decidedly we- 812
stern in outlook. Though they have not produced philosophic 156
systems of their own based on the ego as the fundamental principle, or as the foundation of further speculation, nevertheless their whole intellectual life, their ethical standards and legal code, and still more their actual conduct, are all based on the individual; and to restrict the right of the individual even in the interests of the community, is always resented as an encroachment on the freedom of will.

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The Ukrainian's individualism is most evident in his attitude to the social order, to the principle of the place of the community in society. He repudiates all forms of communal life which call for strict discipline and absolute obedience, without thinking that such a repudiation may be disastrous for the security of general interests and even, in the long run, for the personal advantage of the individual. His individualism as a social principle regards the individual as an end in himself, while the community is merely the sum or union of individuals and as such is only the means of guaranteeing the welfare of the individual. According to this national viewpoint, society — in Ukrainian "hromada" — is a voluntary union of individuals who, for the moment, are willing to work together for common aims, but who reserve the right to leave the union or even to attack it with every means in their power if they find that it is threatening their personal freedom, or when personal interest is greater than the interest of the community. We find a historical example of this attitude in the well-known military organisation of the Zaporoghian Cossacks, who regarded themselves as independent and free citizens, and only acknowledged their duty towards the community in so far as they considered it essential to the security and welfare of all.

In the history of Ukraine there are only too many cases where an exaggerated individualism prevented the formation of tradition as a supreme factor in building up a state, and where the historical existence of the entire people was at the mercy of conflicting forces which, in the absence of all desire to co-operate, were of necessity detrimental to the future of the state.

The structure of Russian society, called "mir" is diametrically opposed to this; it falls into the other extreme as the intellectual expression of the will of the community which completely absorbs personal independence. The essence and leading principle of the Russian "mir" is the compulsion inherent in the superior agency as the instrument of God's will. All rebellion against this divine compulsion is a grievous sin which the simple Russian cannot be expected to commit. This view was and is the most favorable condition for the birth and development of every absolute regime.

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156 829 In contrast to Western European thought, it is characteristic for the Russian's view of the world that he definitely rejects the personal and always seeks to take his stand on a certain intellectual collectivism. In spite of the zealous efforts of some Russian scholars to explain and water down this quality of the Russian psyche, we must admit the truth of the assertion of the slavophils that the Russian spirit is collectivist, in the sense that it detests personal freedom, all kinds of contract conditions and individual property; that it prefers collectivist forms of economy was illustrated in the past by the traditional and typically Russian "Obshchina". And the collectivist experiments which have been carried out in the Soviet Union in modern times have shown that collectivist measures of the communist government met with no resistance to speak of in Russia proper, while peasants in Ukraine were ready to fight to the death in defense of the principle of private property as the fundament of western culture, and in spite of desperate conditions, actually did so.

152 If we wish to evaluate the principles of the Ukrainian view of the world adequately, we must study the structure of his psyche and reveal those qualities and functions that lend it its spiritual character. What strikes us most at the outset is the emphasis on the emotions; the preponderance of feelings over reason. The entire conduct of the Ukrainian is regulated, not by reason, "ratio", so characteristic for the entire philosophy of the Occident, but by profound feeling. This is a characteristic of all Slavs whose passions usually run the whole gamut of emotions. Slavs in general, and Ukrainians in particular, are capable of boundless enthusiasm which, at the first reverse, is followed by equally boundless apathy or despair. They are capable of deep love, which plays a predominant part in their psychical life, but negligible circumstances can often convert this feeling into its opposite, into a hatred for which no reason can be given other than from the emotional point of view. This lack of balance, these extreme variations within the emotions, make it difficult to preserve order and stability within; they are an important and at times decisive handicap to the formation of any system in intellectual work.

152 Love plays a great part in all spheres of life in Ukraine,
593 though it is less connected with eroticism than in other countries; it is first and foremost the product or the accompaniment of the relation between mother and child. Maternal love, in all its possible manifestations, is one of the spiritual prisms through which most of the phenomena of public and private life are regarded and acquire their particular color. Love comprehends an enormous complex of motives which have found expression in literature, art and music.

812 I do not intend to dwell on the manifestations of this emotion in daily life. But I should like to refer to Jurkevych, one of the few Ukrainian philosophers in the 19th century who gave his coutrymen what may be called a philosophy of the heart, a system ruthlessly opposed to the materialism at that time in vogue and also to the almost mechanical rationalism and intellectualism.

In analysing problems of contemporary philosophy, Jurkevych comes to the conclusion that a system of philosophy expressed in functions of the reason is quite incapable of including the entire and real human being. A certain modesty with regards to the limits of human knowledge is characteristic for Ukrainian philosophers. These limits are the result of the fact that human reason and its capacity of knowing the world hide another, more profound, function of the human spirit on which reason is based and which provides it with possibilities of development. This original function of the human spirit, which is fully acknowledged by Skovoroda but mentioned by I. T. Stavrovetskyj as early as the 17th century, is the human heart. The philosophy of the heart which Jurkevych has developed in his work on „The Heart and Its Importance for the Psychic Life of Man“ is the most characteristic feature of the transition from Platonism to recent philosophy; but it is directly opposed to Kant and his school.

I have deliberately dwelt on Jurkevych as a representative of Ukrainian philosophy, as his theory is doubtless influenced by certain characteristics typical for the Ukrainian view of life. One of Jurkevych's pupils, Vladimir Solowjev, later a famous Russian thinker, when writing of his teacher, rightly emphasises the Ukrainian elements in his nature: "Jurkevych came from the Government of Poltava and was therefore a Ukrainian, a fact which left traces in his language and character." 812

Of course I do not mean to say that the Ukrainian does not fully appreciate the powers of thought, or that he is hostile towards them. On the contrary, the intellectual representatives of the Ukrainian people, such as Drahomaniv and his school, Lesja Ukrayinka, are loyal adherents of rationalism and Ivan Franko bears on his banner the proud motto "ratio vincit". But if we study these men more carefully, we come to the conclusion that their rationalist views are a concession to the spirit of the times and are perhaps more in the nature of a mask which hides the emotion they are loath to admit as the decisive factor in their psychic make-up.

The peculiar character of Ukrainian intellectual life emerges most distinctly from a comparison with the fundamental features of the German psyche: "The peculiar character of German thought", Paul Menzer says in his book on the character of the German spirit, "may be best studied in German philosophy — a belief in system is inherent in it, the view that it must be possible to classify all reality in a series of ideas". This naive belief in the omnipotence of the idea is most apparent in Christian Wolff who thinks it is possible to solve all questions of knowledge, action and feeling by means of the reason. The entire attitude to life is to be regulated by reason, all spontaneous decisions arrived at by impulse are forbidden. There can be no doubt that life, conceived thus, must atrophy, but we must admit the great sweep of such a systematic experiment. In practice, Wolff's philosophy evolved a pedantic training for Germans which, however, had its good effects as confirmed by no less a man than Kant in his famous praise of the spirit of thoroughness. If we construct the direct opposite to the characteristics of the German spirit described by Menzer, we get the Ukrainian way of thinking: in place of exaggerated systematisation a lack of all system often replaced by the intuition of genius which, unconsciously, builds up on feeling; no thoroughness, no pondering, and consequently restricted action, but, on the contrary, too great an expansion of the sphere of in- 812 153

812 terest and, at the same time, superficial work. The Ukrainian
153 does not treat problems in theory and practice from the point of
view of reason, but confronts reality with emotion, takes decision on the spur of the moment and confuses theoretical and practical issues.

157 In connection herewith I shall just touch on the third sphere
771 of psychological life, namely the will. Seeing that all three
functions, reason, feeling and will are closely dependent on each
181 other, the supremacy of the first or the second will necessarily
812 influencce the third. A will that is under the control of feeling and not of reason, will not be very strong, steadfast or consistent, but, like the feelings, will fall from one extreme into the other in a brief interval, so that periods of great, superhuman activity and joy in work are followed by times of complete passivity and the idleness of despair. The supremacy of feeling and the predominance of love provide us with a further element in the Ukrainian view of the world, namely the deep feeling for religion which is the main component in all Slav spiritual life. Many scholars of the last century emphasise the supremacy of feeling and the all-important part played by religion as the main characteristics of the spiritual life not only of modern Slavs, but also of their ancestors, whether remote or recent. Attempts have been made to differentiate the historical peculiarity of the Slavs from that of the Romance peoples, in particular from the French and the Germanic nations. Compared with the political French and the philosophical Teutons, the Slavs are, in the widest sense, the religious race.

Quite apart from our opinion of this characteristic, it must not be forgotten that all leading Slavs, whether Poles, Czechs, Ukrainians or Russians, whether philosophers, authors or artists, display an undoubted, if varied religiousness. Even revolutionaries like Bakunin, Herzen and others, though they rejected all belief at the start, were none the less deeply religious men and their fantastic fight against religion was but a negative expression of religious feeling. Atheism in Russia is the expression of an unsatisfied passion for belief, of a passion that refuses to let

itself be put off with inadequate creeds, and that, in despair, 157
denies God Himself. 771

In spite of this general, common background, expressions of 181
religious feeling in the various Slavonic tribes differ greatly. The 812
Ukrainian is never orthodox in his religious life; he does not cling at all to forms, to externals; rather does he endeavour always to comprehend the essence of a creed or belief. All who have studied the character of the Ukrainian people even superficially must admit that a religious quarrel or still more, a bitter strife over ritual forms such as has become a plague with Russians is quite impossible among Ukrainians. Ukrainian history provides us with interesting and instructive examples of this. When the Kyiv State became Christian and accepted the Byzantine form of the Christian Church, being thereby automatically drawn into the whirlpool of religious strife, the Grand Prince deliberately sought to avoid all dogmatic quarrels and to keep contact with the West, even though he was a member of the Eastern Church and shared in Eastern culture. Unconcerned with the subtleties of dogma, which did not interest Kyiv princes though their church depended on Constantinople, they nevertheless sent ambassadors to the German emperors and to Popes, received delegates from the West and showered gifts on them; they formed family unions with Catholic princes and rulers — in a word, began to smooth the way of mediation between Western and Eastern Europe, a rôle which Ukraine was later to assume. It is true that fierce wars of religion were waged in Ukraine as elsewhere in the 16th and 17th centuries. But here the strife between adherents of the Orthodox Church and Unionists represented in reality the gigantic struggle between two views of the world — the Eastern conservative view and the Western, more progressive one, a struggle which, in addition to religion, comprehended many other factors, such as national feeling and political and cultural standards. At present, too, when Ukrainians must live together under most trying circumstances, church differences scarcely come into play. As a result of his over-individual nature, the Ukrainian is all too ready to utilise every opportunity of arguing with his opponent, but religious feeling is too deeply rooted and com-

157 pels too much respect for the opinion of others for him to make diverging beliefs an object of strife. Skovoroda, the Ukrainian 771 Socrates, whose spiritual life reflects all the characteristics of 181 the national psyche of the Ukrainian people, expresses his atti- 812 tude to religious things in a very simple formula, which is perhaps too simple for a philosopher: "Pagan temples and idols were also expressions of Christian belief, being inscribed as they were with the wise, sacred words: gnoti seauton, nosce te ipsum".

According to Skovoroda, God did not reveal His truth to Christians and Hebrews alone, but also to pagans, just as morality cannot be regarded as the monopoly of the Christian world, seeing that it has many eminent champions among the nations of the ancient world. In the province of religion the Ukrainian demands universality, respect for every genuine religious feeling, tolerance of the convictions of others, but not orthodoxy and not the forfeiture of valuable content for the sake of mere form.

181 The Ukrainian view of the world is characterised by an opti- 812 mism founded on metaphysics and ethics. In spite of the overwhelming catastrophes that have constantly shaken the historical existence of the people to its foundations, in spite of the terrible persecutions to which the heart of the nation, its peasantry, has been exposed for centuries, hope of a better future was never dead, and indeed it rose afresh at the very time when, judged by objective standards, there were practically no prospects of improvement. And yet — in defiance of all foes — the Ukrainian people will and must live and fulfil its destined mission, the motto to which all leading spirits have always sworn allegiance. Of course, Ukrainian public opinion, especially in the higher classes, has also displayed depression caused by temporary circumstances; but though the situation was often extremely critical, Ukrainian history has no proper example of general dissolution, of complete and extensive despair. On the contrary, it is characteristic of Ukrainian mentality to regard the world and its phenomena from the best side and to trust in a favorable issue of all processes. "We'll get along somehow" is the expression, not only of mental balance, of a determination to keep a stiff upper lip, but is at the same time an unmistakable sign

of a feeling of confidence, no matter how circumstances may 181
change. 812

If we seek the origin of this apparently irrational opti- 776
mism, we come to the conclusion that its roots lie in pre-
historic times and that its motives have been preserved in folk- 812
lore, tales and fables. The study of extensive Ukrainian material proves conclusively that the belief in the victory of good over evil is part and parcel of the people's faith. The world is ruled by the principle of good; evil, and its personification, the devil, are by no means equal to good and do not have an independent existence of their own.

Without going into details, we can make the general assertion that in Ukraine the devil is no powerful god who finds satisfaction in the sea of troubles that overwhelms man; his power does not equal that of the good spirit; in the realm of evil he is not supreme over subordinate demons — he is a petty spirit who, by exploiting the weaknesses of God and man, seeks to make unpleasantness for both.

The devil cannot have the mastery over a human being during 776
the latter's life, even if he has promised him his soul. It is fairly easy to summon the devil in order to enter into a contract with him. In drawing up the articles of such a contract, the devil does not display any special intelligence, or even intellectual superiority over his human partner. The Evil One not infrequently gets the worst of a bargain with a simple peasant; he puts himself to no end of trouble in order to get money and honor for man before death, but after he is dead, man always finds a loop-hole in the contract through which he can slip and land happily in Paradise.

Thus we see that, for the Ukrainian, far from being an imposing figure, the devil degenerates into something comical and, at times, even pitiable, a being to be exploited or made a fool of by man. In the eternal struggle which it is man's fate to conduct against evil, man is far superior to the devil.

Maksimov assures us that the belief in an unlimited number of evil spirits is firmly rooted in the consciousness of the Great Russian. He believes that there are scarcely any places in the

776 world free from them, that they do not even respect Russian churches. As unsubstantial beings who can, however, appear in various familiar guises to man, these servants of the Evil One do not only dwell in places forsaken by God, in bottomless moors and the depths of forests: they are just as much at home in human habitations and even penetrate into the human organism. We may see proof of this belief in the fact that all containers of drinking-water in Russian peasant houses have got some kind of lid, be it ever so primitive. If it is impossible to get a lid, two sticks are laid cross-wise on the vessel so as to prevent the devil from getting into the water. Similarly, we can scarcely find a peasant who, in spite of innate carelessness and dreaminess, will forget to make the sign of the Cross over his mouth when yawning, so as to keep the Evil One from entering into his organism.

On the basis of material at our disposal dealing with the rôle of the devil among Eastern Slavs, we may safely assert that among Ukrainians, as among the peoples of Western Europe, the demonic has lost something of its mystery, originality and power while, in the life of the Great Russian, evil may not be on the same level as good, but it has nevertheless managed to
000 preserve a fairly strong position. Russian dualism, predominant in folk-lore and expressed in the struggle between the Divine Power and the Evil One points plainly to analogy with the dualist beliefs of Oriental religions. Mazdeism in particular, the creed of aryan Iran is decidedly dualistic in character, being constructed on the contrasts between light and darkness, good and evil, salvation and destruction, as they appear in the psychical and moral world. These contrasts can be traced to two gods who are equal in power and who are constantly engaged in strife. Ahriman characterises the cause of the strife and the mutual enmity of these two powers as the ethical devil; for a moral sin, envy of Ormuzd causes Ahriman to conceive the idea of destroying his creations.

771
812 It is just here, in the province of ethics, that the difference in the conceptions of good and evil which we have already noticed in the national beliefs of Russians and Ukrainians, becomes strikingly apparent. For the Ukrainian evil

is, so to speak, the result of teleological conditions. It is 771
in the world not because there is any justification for its 812
existence in itself, and not as a power against which we struggle in vain; evil exists because we need it, because without contrast to it, good could never be brought into the right light. It is not only the evil in us, but the evil around us that seems to be the essential complement of good; the power of good grows in the struggle with evil; injustice furthers the feeling for justice, falsehood and cowardice the feeling for truth, while selfishness calls forth magnanimity. Metaphorically speaking, the devil is for the Ukrainian by no means an almost divine power, inspiring man with inexpressible terror, but a being that draws the poor sinner's attention to his sins, frightens him a little and so shows him the way to improvement and perfection. This belief has produced a thoroughly optimistic view of the world which has found striking and eminent expression in literature.

For the Great Russian, evil is a dreadful power, not a 000
necessary attribute of good but a principle of equal value that can attract disciples and inspire them with enthusiasm. One does not commit evil from carelessness, but from conviction, for the sake of evil, because evil has the same foundation and justification in human nature as good.

This idea of evil has naturally found artistic expression in literature and its main representatives in Russian literature are Dostojevskij and Tolstoi. Tolstoi rejected all positive religion and formed his own view of the world which is characterised by perfect passivity quite opposed to combating evil. His principle of "non-resistance" to evil which he erroneously tries to derive from Christ's original teaching is really anchored in his thoroughly Russian soul and is certainly the unconscious expression of the general Russian belief in the invincibility and omnipotence of evil.

Tolstoi deliberately twists Christ's teaching and attempts to set it up against the Old Testament idea of vengeance and retribution, though there is no justification for this at all. We know that Christ did not come to destroy the law of the prophets but to fulfil it.

000 His Sermon on the Mount was intended to confute the Pharisaical idea that every wrong done to a man must be repaid at least in equal measure. And if we bear the Jewish mentality in mind we realise, that the desire for vengeance so prominent in that people would not be content with paying back wrong in the same coin, but that it probably insisted on flinging a rock back at everyone who had thrown a stone. Christ contests this law of Moses. He only wished to say that the principle of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth is not necessarily the only means of regulating human relationships and that another method would often be better. That Christ did not despise violence when nothing else was possible is proved by His own example when He drove the money-changers out of the temple. The Christian religion must and will set out from ruthless war on evil. This war may be waged with different weapons, but it must on no account be conducted from feelings of vengeance and retribution. This is the deeper and proper sense of Christ's words which were wrongly interpreted by Tolstoi and his teaching. (Gusev).

These contrasts are still more glaring when we leave the province of individual ethics for the social sphere. Tolstoi's doctrine leads to an absolute anarchy which destroys all human institutions, the product of a thousand years' development. There is no supreme justice, no supreme legislation, there is neither authority nor governing body, no state; human society is transformed into a horde of apparently free individuals, the few good among whom try to teach and control the evil majority by example only. So if Tolstoi, whom Turgeniev calls "the great Russian writer", the most genuine of all Russian prophets, composed of the national elements in the Russian spirit, in contrast to all moral philosophy and deliberately twisting Christ's teaching, tries to spread the theory of non-resistance of evil with all the art of a gifted poet and the authority of a world-famed personality, his deeper motives do not lie in a clearer comprehension of the Christian ethic, but primarily and exclusively in the intimate connection of his way of thinking with the spirit of the Russian people which is too respectful to dare rebel against the majesty of the demonic and which bears in its 000 soul a feeling of passive subjection to evil.

In addition to Tolstoi's work, Dostojevskij merits special mention here as these two, according to Ivanov-Razumnik, form the synthesis of a two centuries' development of Russian literature and the entire spirit of the Russian people.

Dostojevskij analyses the motive powers of the human soul with mathematical accuracy, not as they appear in a healthy state of balance, but in a condition of suffering, of struggle, of internal dissension i. e. in a pathological condition in which their closest secrets are distorted and laid bare under the knife of the anatomist, or rather under the microscope. Dostojevskij, a hopeless pessimist, does not elevate man above the meanness of everyday life, but forces him with relentless thoroughness to experience spiritually all the misery and torture that human life can conceal. And even though the reader admits the unnaturalness of a presentation that is otherwise a work of genius, he can no more tear himself away from these scenes than he can from the sufferings of someone he loves.

With a devotion worthier of a nobler cause, Dostojevskij delineates in books that are unparalleled creations of literary art only criminals, idiots, pathological beings whose physical and psychical life is exposed to all extreme influences. Let us select only a few examples from his crowded gallery

Piotr Verkhovenskij, ethically considered, is an absolutely low, mean criminal, a villain who cynically tramples on man and feelings, cooperates with a contemptible murderer while he himself, with devilish cunning, robs innocent people of life; he is an abortion of the Evil One, a demon, in crass contrast to the debonair and often naive devil of the West. "The evil in Stavrogin was cold and quiet", says Dostojevskij, "that was sensible — and therefore the most repulsive and fearful thing that can exist". Up till 1928 there was an unprinted chapter of the "Demons" with Stavrogin's confession, in which he tells among other sins of violating a 12-year old girl, a child. He describes the child's despair and her subsequent suicide with the accuracy and the objectivity of an outsider. This presentation is one of

000 Dostojevskij's most powerful creations, palpitating with dreadful truth to life, so that we understand those who, out of respect for the author, did not wish to have it printed even after his death. Stavrogin, who conceals behind a mask that good and evil are equal in value, is a demon of gigantic stature. Stefan Trofimovich, on the other hand, is a petty demon, an individual in every sense indolent, a caricature of intellectual sterility.

The women in the novel are of the same species. There is the simpleminded sister of Lebadkin, the captain who is always out at elbows; Stavrogin married her from sheer boredom; Maria, Shatoff's wife, who returns to her husband when pregnant by Stavrogin, and young Lisaveta, also completely under Stavrogin's spell and finally his mother, the governor's wife, in whom Russian blood is tragically mingled with social conventions — all these women are passionate creatures, but at the same time completely at the mercy of the demon hysteria.

And other characters stand out from the background of events. I leave the characterisation of the heroes in the Karamasov family to Mereshkovskij, the eminent Russian poet and excellent critic, who sums them up as follows in his study on Tolstoi and Dostojevskij: "When judging Dostojevskij as a man, we must bear in mind his all-consuming artistic need to sound the most dangerous, most inaccessible depths of the human heart, above all the depths of lust, in all its manifestations. From most enthusiastic voluptuousness of the "angel", Aljosha Karamasov, which almost reaches the heights of religious ecstasy to that of the repulsive spider that devours its own male, we pass through the entire spectrum of this the lowest of human passions, each shade merging into the next like the colors in the rainbow. It is worth noting that bonds of relationship exist connecting not only the horrible "Smerdjakov", "Ivan, who wrestles with God", the cruel "Dimitry, the voluptuary, mad, as if stung by a gadfly", but also the virtuous cherub Aljosha with their physical father, the "monster", Fedor Pavlovich Karamasov, as well as with Dostojevskij himself, their spiritual father. It is indeed mostly his own family that he describes; he would perhaps cut himself free from them in the eyes of man, but never before God and his own conscience".

In conclusion I should like to quote the words that Dostojevskij in the "Demons" puts into the mouth of the dying Stefan Trofimovich, referring to the Gospel of St. Luke: "You see, it's the same with our Russia as with those Gadarene swine. The devils who leave the sick and enter the swine, those are all the microbes and pollutions, all the poisons, all the big and little demons that have gathered in our dear, big invalid of a Russia for many, many centuries. Oui, cette Russie, que j'aimais toujours! . . . 000

We are those demons, we and those others, Petrusha et les autress avec lui, and I'm perhaps their leader; in our madness we shall cast ourselves from the cliff into the sea and shall all drown — and that's where we really belong, because we are good for naught else . . ." The boundless pessimism which we emphasised at the beginning of our analysis as the key-note in the psychological harmony of the great Russian thinker is here confirmed beyond all doubt. And we must not forget that of all Dostojevskij's novels "The Demons" and "The Brothers Karamasov" are most illuminating as a guide to the Russian soul. They are real confessions, revelations from the first page to the last, and present the Russian soul in all its manifestations.

Involuntarily we ask ourselves why the author, in solving the problem of medium, chose precisely this mode of confession and what external or inner reason compelled him to center interest on the "demonic" in all its forms. Was it necessary for Dostojevskij, in order to be able to pursue certain moral intentions, to present in concentrated form with all a genius's powers of conviction the meannesses, the crimes, the abnormities, the horrors of all times and countries? Apart from the fact that many critics are not convinced of these aims thus emphasised, the question remains whether they could not have been achieved by other means. That the demonic spirit and all its manifestations should be given so much room in Dostojevskij's creations may well be due to the fact that the demonic, evil, the devil, plays a very great part in the psychic life of the Russian people and therefore in the spiritual world of Dostojevskij, one of its leaders.

000 The devil does not, for instance, appear to Ivan Karamasov in the vagueness of a ghost, but in all the seeming reality of a hallucination. In this hallucination we feel something of the eternal Demon that was in Ivan's soul and grows out of it. Goethe's Mephistopheles is indeed the music accompanying temptation in Faust's life on earth, is also Faust himself, but he is not really "demonic". We feel that the poet never believed in the possibility of an incarnation of the devil. Dostojevskij has put more visionary power, more of the demon into Ivan's hallucination than Goethe has lent the whole temptation of Faust by the devil at his side. But Ivan Karamasov, like his bad, second self, Smerdjakov, their physical father, the "monster" Fedor Pavlovich Karamasov, and finally Mitja, Grushenka, Katja, Lisa and Piotr Verkhovenskij, Stavrogin and all the others are, according to Mereshkovskij, Dostojevskij's own family, flesh of his flesh and blood of his blood, while Tolstoi and Dostojevskij, in their turn, are according to Ivanov-Razumnik, the noblest synthesis of the spirit of the Russian people. The psychical point of view of these two great thinkers only proves their close contact with the inmost soul of their people which is indeed under Western influence but which is turned towards the East and which regards the demonic from a standpoint that differs entirely from that of the people in Western and Central Europe.

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RD1 Ukraine RD1

The Ukrainian Church

When it was spreading throughout Eastern Europe, Christianity as a rule encountered peoples that were in early stages of spiritual development, when the ideas of religious, intellectual, cultural and political life were scarcely differentiated. At this time the Christian religion was the content and the basis of every development in culture, so that the acceptance of Christianity by a people was first and foremost an event of cultural and polititical importance in its life. It goes without saying that the embracing of Christianity was accompanied by contacts with those countries which were most interested in spreading the new religion. There were two possibilities for the ancient Kyiv empire which Norman Vikings had developed in the heart of present-day Ukraine in the 9th and 10th centuries to become a powerful and unique political factor in Eastern Europe: it could either embrace the Christianity of Rome in the west, or of Constantinople in the east, i. e. draw on either of the two centers of Christianity which were at that time on terms of bitter, if veiled, hostility.

The fact that the Grand Princes of Kyiv were christianised from Byzantium is partly explained by the geographical position of their state. Their campaigns of conquest led them along the course of rivers, which, in those days, were the natural channels of intercourse. This meant that the warlike Kyiv rulers extended their territories to the south where trade contacts were first established with Greece and that the new Christian creed could be demonstrated ad oculos when Constantinople was visited, whence it therefore slowly filtered into northern areas. A considerable number of Greeks are known to have been living in Kyiv even before Volodymyr the Great's conversion to Christianity, a fact which must have had percussions on that event. Nor must we forget that just then Byzantine culture was at its height and that, in consequence, it far outshone the culture of western peoples and further that it was already pervaded by Slavonic factors which brought it nearer the consciousness and feelings of the population than the remote sun of the west which was just rising. It was the nearest and most natural solution that the

175 Grand Princes of Kyiv, i. e. the leaders of the Norman Vikings should fetch their Christian faith from Byzantium and we are probably right in maintaining that any other state in the same circumstances would also have been christianised from Byzantium.

175 The new religion was at first embraced only by the Princes
797 and their courts, but later it was forced on the people by their superiors and became a bond that united the entire state organism. There was no fear that the people would make a combined and successful stand against Christianity for there was no pagan order of priests to take over leadership in such a contest. The people had only sorcerers in place of priests and so it was possible to christianise the country by peaceful methods though pagan ideas continued to live in popular consciousness for a considerable time. It is quite legitimate therefore, to speak at this time of a "double faith".

175 The organisation of the church in the Kyiv empire came from Byzantium which was also the home of the higher clergy with
792 the exception of two cases when representatives of the native
795 population were consecrated metropolitans. The conventual orders and the many monasteries, among which the Cave Monastery in Kyiv attained a great reputation throughout the world of orthodoxy, attempted to shape the lives of the people on Christian lines and to realise the ideals of Christianity. The monasteries were the most important and indeed the only centers of cultural life at that time.

175 The Tatars who raided Europe in the 13th century destroyed
795 the Kyiv empire and then pushed further west though they were brought to a halt in the battle of Liegnitz in 1241. Nevertheless for centuries the countries of Eastern Europe had to submit to the yoke of East Asiatic nomads.

In the Mongolian era the position of the church was not exactly unfavorable, for the Khans allowed it a certain freedom and state protection. The metropolitans had, however, to fetch the written pardons (Jarlyks) from the horde personally which was a voluntary acknowledgement of their dependence on the secular power. The dignitaries of the orthodox church continued, it is true, to be consecrated by Constantinople, but no longer directly but on the mediation and the recommendation of the Khans.

In the course of the 14th century after their liberation from the Tatars Ukrainian areas came under the sovereignty of the rulers of Lithuania and were then slowly absorbed by Poland after the union of that country with Lithuania. The position of the orthodox church in Ukraine which had already been weakened by the inroads of Tatars was further shaken by this political development and by the subjection of the country to an alien sovereign. It was degraded within the Polish republic from its former status as a state church to a factor of cultural life that was merely tolerated. It thereby lost authority as there was no executive power behind it and the general disorganisation and decay increased from year to year.

The southern sphere of Eastern European territory and the Ukrainian church were unmistakably characterised by a predilection for the west, and a spiritual kinship with the culture of Central and Western Europe. Even the Kyiv Grand Princes were plainly inclined to the west and, in spite of the dependence of their church on Byzantium, they contracted marriage unions with the Catholic dynasties of several European countries. The Tatar raids interrupted this movement, but only for a short time; for as soon as Ukrainian territory was absorbed first by the principality of Lithuania and then by the Polish state, it immediately formed contact again with the west. It is true that the orthodox church of Ukraine was subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople up to 1685, but spiritually it was turned towards the west. It remained loyal to its dogmas but fetched its spiritual weapons in its fight for equality from the arsenal of the leaders of the western churches, Catholic and Protestant. The educational institutes which trained for the priesthood in Ukraine borrowed their organisation from the Jesuit Colleges. Latin was the language used and Aristotle, and after him Christian Wolff with his systematic methods, reigned supreme. So it is no wonder that the youth trained in such schools was not suffocated by formalism and was therefore able to assimilate and develop new ideas. It was from this conciliatory

175 spirit that all the movements for union with Rome sprang
795 which were so characteristic for orthodoxy in Ukraine.

The orthodox church in the south, in Ukraine, followed its own historical development independent of events in the Muscovite state in the north. Up to the middle of the 17th century it was subject to Constantinople but incorporated within the Polish state and fought with unequal weapons for equality within the organism of a foreign state. But when, after the fall of Constantinople, Moscow, the "third Rome", became more and more supreme in the ecclesiastical and religious life of Eastern Europe, a dilemma arose for orthodox Ukrainians in Poland; they could either remain loyal to a weak Byzantium, or subject themselves to the new power of Moscow, or they could improve their political position and come into closer contact with the general process of culture in Europe by uniting with Rome. The movement for union was therefore determined not by dogma, but, in the first instance, by political and cultural considerations. The year 1596 finally witnessed the union of part of the orthodox Ukrainians with Rome. For, when faced with the choice between Moscow and Rome, most of the Ukrainian bishops decided in favor of the latter and thus created a split within the orthodox church which was to be of far-reaching consequence for the shaping of political events in Eastern Europe. Thus, since the end of the 16th century there were two church organisations on Ukrainian territory, the orthodox which was able to maintain itself chiefly in western areas and the united, which, in the course of time, developed to be the national church of Ukraine. With the increasing political importance of the Cossacks throughout the 17th century, the orthodox church tried to rise again and succeeded, above all in the province of culture, in creating new values which ultimately permeated the whole of Eastern Europe. After the fall of the Cossack state and the incorporation of the most of Ukraine in the Russian Empire in the course of the 18th century, the united church was more and more persecuted and in 1838 was finally banned; the Ukrainian orthodox church, on the other hand, fell increasingly under Russian influence. This process gained in intensity with time so that at the beginning of the 20th century the orthodox church in Ukraine was one of the most powerful instruments for "freeing" the population from national sentiments. After the establishment of an independent Ukraine in 1918, the orthodox church in Ukraine experienced a fresh, if shortlived, renaissance. It could not last long for, when the bolshevists gained the upper hand, the entire religious life of Ukraine suffered the same treatment as that in other parts of the Soviet Union. In the first years of the Soviet regime when the pressure of the government was bearable, orthodox Ukrainians in Soviet Russia organised themselves into the Ukrainian Independent Church, replacing the Old Slavonic church language by the modern mother-tongue. But when the new order in Eastern Europe grew stronger and all religion was banned from public life, the Ukrainian Independent Church had to cease functioning at home and confined its activity to the numerous circles of emigrants who, especially after World War I, sojourned in western countries.

As already mentioned, the orthodox church in Western Ukraine, in areas like Galicia and Volynia, held its own against the Union. But at the beginning of the 18th century these sections were also won for the idea of the union, which was finally stronger here than anywhere. For, even in the days of Polish supremacy, and still more after the occupation of this area by Austria, the United or Greek-Catholic church developed into a Ukrainian national church which protected the people on the one hand from Russian, and on the other from Polish influence. In the 20th century Count Andreas Sheptytskyj, the Lviv metropolitan of this church, who accomplished much not only as the supreme head of the church but just as much as a national leader, became the symbol of the church's wide-spread significance. So it is no wonder but a procedure of accepted political expediency that, even during the First World War the Russian Government, rightly seeing in the Greek-Catholic church a centre of Ukrainian nationalism, arrested the Metropolitan Sheptytskyj immediately after the occupation of Lviv and sent him into exile. Similarly, the report which appeared last year in all newspapers that the several million members of the United Church had submitted to the Patriarch of Moscow after the country was occupied by bolshevist troops and had thus returned

175 to the bosom of orthodoxy, was in the same category. That
795 this did not happen voluntarily but was carried out by means of pressure from above is as certain as the fact that it was not religious and dogmatic consideration but solely political factors that were the motive forces behind this change of front from west to east.

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine RDl

The Social Structure of the Ukrainian Community

The social structure of the Ukrainian people was fairly uniform till the Soviets took over the government. According to the census of 1926 which gives an accurate enough picture of pre-Soviet conditions, the majority of the people were engaged in agriculture. On December 17. 1926, 80.6 % of the population were employed in agriculture, 5.4 % in factories, 3.7 % were artisans, 0.5 % were employed in building, 1.9 % on the railway, 2.3 % in business, and 2.6 % in civil service. Te different social classes may be seen from the following table: 162

	Ukrainians	Russians	Jews
	%	%	%
Laborers	54.6	29.2	8.7
Servants	51.7	25.0	16.9
Professions	47.9	15.2	30.4
Farmers working with members of own family	88.6	4.9	1.3
Farmers with hired laborers	75.6	5.7	10.4
Independent peasants	56.7	10.7	26.7
Members of family working at home	89.1	5.2	0.6

The characteristic member of the social structure of the Ukrainian nation was the farmer who cultivated the soil with the help only of his family. The proportion of Ukrainians in the groups of laborers, employees and professions diminished as the salary and social standing of the group in question rose.

The collective system introduced by the First and Second Five Year Plans made deep alterations in the social structure of the Ukrainian areas. The proportion between rural and urban population changed. According to the last census of 1939 the urban population had risen to 36.2 %, while the rural population had sunk to 63.8 %. In the Donets Basin and the Ukraine Steppe, where industrialisation was intensely developed, the population of the towns in some areas rose by 50 %. While from 1926-1932 towns like Dnipropetrovske increased 62.9 %, Za- 162 361

162 porizha 244 %, Kryvyj Rih 156.6 %, Staline 170 %, Konstanty-
361 nivka 233 %, towns in the Right and Left Bank areas decreased.

The increase in urban population in the Ukraine Soviet Republic is most probably due to foreign immigration. Housing has become worse practically everywhere; it is difficult to imagine that the immigrants can continue to live permanently under such wretched conditions.

474 The rural population was composed almost entirely of members of colkhoses. They possessed almost the entire agricultural land in common, all agricultural machinery and draught animals and much of the other livestock. There remained for personal use only small plots round the cottages, the cottages themselves and a few head of cattle (no horses), pigs and poultry.

474 Every member had to work on the soil of the colkhose. His
465 wages were reckoned according to the number of days he had worked and these were calculated according to time and kind of work performed. The amount of grain left after fulfilling obligations to the state and payment for hire of machines and tractors, seed, cattle-breeding expenses, rate of amortisation etc. represented the wages. They were paid in kind and (a smaller proportion) in money. This meant that variations in harvest yield were almost exclusively expressed by what was left for wages. In the first years of the colkhose system, members often received 2-3 kg of grain for a day's work; as their energy was not fully utilised in the colkhose and as the members of the family who were unable to work had also to live from these meager earnings, famine arose in the early thirties in Ukraine, bringing a great increase in the death-rate. Later, wages are said to have been raised but the Soviet statistics do not show whether the wages listed (15 kg and more per day) applied to entire Ukraine or to individual colkhoses. The incomes of the various colkhose members also varied, as administrative jobs were better paid than work in fields and stables, and as several members revealed "propriety instincts" for extending or exploiting their own small share at the expense of the common property.

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine RDl

The proportion of farms managed by individuals decreased to 162
less than 1 % of the entire agricultural area. The men employed at machinery and tractor centers, which seemed to 565
attract all the mechanics required for the colkhose system, formed a privileged class. It depended on them whether an agricultural operation was carried through at the right time. This group was mainly composed of young people and non-Ukrainians. In 1934 some 797 600 were employed on the land and in forests in the Ukraine Soviet Republic. The Soviet officials, not so important numerically as on account of their influence, formed another group of the rural population. Finally, in the country districts there was a fairly large group of teaching and medical staffs and agricultural experts, mostly of Ukrainian peasant origin, as foreigners could not stand life in Ukrainian villages for long.

Urban population had a large percentage of foreigners, the 162
main social groups being laborers in industry and commerce and 369
the Soviet officials. The number of industrial laborers within the frontiers of the Ukraine Soviet Republic on January 1st, 1936 was 1 308 000. But this figure kept varying constantly, as many of the workers from country districts were not satisfied with conditions of life in the towns and changed jobs frequently or tried to get back home. The Soviet Government fought against these difficulties for years without being able to solve them. This group also included a great number of young people who grew up in post-war conditions. Their nationality varied; about half of the industrial proletariat in Ukraine was of Ukrainian origin. As a rule, material standards were not 465
high. The average wage in 1934 amounted to 166.4 roubles a 434
month, but this figure is not a clear indication of the individual's earning capacity as piece-work was general. In individual cases, where the Stakhanov system (whereby maximum output of labor was achieved) was introduced, higher than average wages were earned. In recent years real wages declined as a result of abolishing the cards which had entitled workmen to certain privileges in buying food and industrial products. Wage earners in Soviet business concerns were similarly situated to those in industrial plants but as the former were less important than the latter in the general scheme of Soviet economy, their develop-

465 ment has been slower and they have not yet reached the same
degree of intensity of labor which we found in factories. Jews
434 play a great part in commercial life.

162 Among the lower categories of civil servants, Ukrainians were
in the majority from the beginning, while representatives of
465 foreign nationalities increased in the higher services. The average
511 salary of Soviet officials throws little light on the standard of
647 living in this group of the population because the difference between higher and lower employees is again considerable. Incomes in the lower ranks were very small while the higher officials had a life of ease and could on occasion even afford luxury. Engineers are among the most privileged while teachers and actors are much worse off. The legal status of the Soviet official was entirely insecure; they lived constantly under threat of a "purge" or of being denounced as disturbing the process of Soviet economy. The higher ranks of bureaucrats were here in special danger.

162 The small group of the professional class (doctors, writers, lawyers), in spite of their freedom, was dependent on the apparatus of the Soviet State. The group of outcasts was most to be pitied, i. e. those who had been expelled by the regime from social intercourse, e. g. merchants, artisans, and priests. After identity cards were introduced and "socially dangerous" persons removed, this group greatly decreased.

162 Another group, finally, is formed by Ukrainians living
167 outside the frontiers of Ukrainian territory, who as "Kur-
697 kuls", "Pests", "Saboteurs" were sent to concentration camps in the North and in Siberia. The "Nationalists" are also included in this group. And the colonisation of remote frontier areas in Soviet Russia required forest laborers, miners and factory workers, who had to help in the coal mines of Siberia and in building up industrial concerns in Central Asia. It is impossible to give statistics for the proportion of Ukrainians in this group, but they cannot be ignored as they will certainly return home and play an important rôle in Ukraine whenever the general situation is altered.

162 In Ukrainian areas outside of the Soviet Union, conditions
167 resemble those obtaining in Western Europe. The Ukrainian

area in Poland showed the greatest variations, it having an urban population of 19 % in 1931; in the Lviv area of administration this rose to 30 % and sank to 12 % in Volynia. The urban population was composed of the following nationalities: Ukrainians 22.9 %, Poles 36.6 %, Jews 38.3 %. The figures for the rural population, on the other hand, were: Ukrainians 71.4 %, Poles 23 %, Jews 3.8 %, others 1.8 %. 74.9 % were employed in agriculture, 10.2 % in factories and mines, 7.4 % in business and transportation, 7.5 % in other callings. In areas previously belonging to Russia, the number of those engaged in agriculture rose to 80 % and in the administration of Lviv and Stanislaviv it only amounted to 65.5 % and 74.8 % respectively.

162

167

An excess rural population was characteristic of Polish parts of Ukraine, being particularly marked in provinces formerly Austrian. The agricultural area was divided into 52.4 % small holdings (up to 50 ha), 28.8 % large estates and 18.8 % state property. But in reality 84.3 % of the agricultural land was in small holdings as the large estates and the state property mostly consisted of forest land. In Galicia there were crofts (up to 5 ha) which could neither employ nor feed a large family. The medium-sized (5-20 ha) and larger farms (20-50 ha) did not represent even the half of all agricultural enterprises. Ukrainians were practically not represented at all in larger estates, so that the standard of living among the Ukrainian population was very low; the cooperative system which was widely spread, especially in Galicia, did something to raise the average standard.

The Ukrainian urban population was represented mainly by the lower middle-classes. In recent times efforts have been made to improve conditions for Ukrainian businessmen and to build new workshops for individual workers. These efforts soon met with success, in spite of Polish and Jewish competition.

Social conditions were different in Bucovina and Bessarabia. Though land there has been parcelled into tiny holdings and has consequently produced a social situation similar to that in Galicia, the conditions under which the Ukrainian peasant lived in Bessarabia were stable and more favorable. Jews formed a

162 proportion of the population of the little towns, the Ukrainian
167 intelligentsia being but weakly represented.

The population of those parts of *Ukrainian territory that are* in Czechoslovakia, is also mostly engaged in agriculture which accounts for 81.8 %, mining industry for 6.4 %, trade and transportation for 2.7 % and other professions for 9.1 %. In the main, Ukrainians live in the country; the less important cities and towns have a very mixed population, in which Ukrainians form the majority in only a few cases. The standards of living and material security are precarious, lower perhaps than in any other part of Ukrainian territory.

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RD1 Ukraine RD1

The Different Areas of Ukraine, their Nationality and Political Position

644 Let us review briefly the political development in the various
177 areas of Ukraine between the two World Wars. Ukrainians
,64 within the Soviet Union were mainly distributed, as we have seen, between the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (RSFSR) where they had no national rights, and the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic. By the constitution of July 6th, 1923, Soviet Ukraine is a member of the USSR which adjoined "voluntarily as a member of the union with the formal right to leave it when it likes".

The constitution of Soviet Ukraine was adjusted to that of the USSR. The Congress of Soviets, the Central Executive and its president are the supreme organs of authority. The Council of Commissaries functioned as the Executive Body and it was subject to the authority of the Congress of Soviets and the Central Executive Committee. Three categories of members were comprised in the Council of Ukrainian People's Commissaries: 1. commissaries for agriculture, justice, internal affairs, education, health and social welfare, who acted on their own authority in the provinces under their jurisdiction; 2. "unified" commissaries who had to function according to instructions from the central government, and 3. delegates from the general commissariat of the Union, appointed by different central agencies and dependent on them.

The independence of the various federal republics mainly existed merely on paper, as representatives of the RSFSR were in the majority in the supreme agencies of the USSR. The decisive feature of the organisation was that the composition of all agencies throughout the USSR was regulated by the communist party, which filled all posts with its own members. It, too, was completely centralised and took its orders from the head office of the party in Moscow which it then implemented in the various republics. The expansion of the communist party's function and the limitation of the rights of the individual republics formed the foundation of the growth of the USSR from the very beginning. Numerous amendments to the constitution which

642 reached a climax in Stalin's Constitution of December 5th, 1936
177 helped to liquidate the idea of federation; the principles on which
.64 the Soviet Union had been constituted in 1923 were denied, the rights of the federal republics being reduced to a minimum: only 4 Republican People's Commissariats remained (commissariat for education — minus universities; social welfare; local industry; communal management) and all other state functions now fell to the "unified" commissariats of the Central Government (now called unionist-republican). As the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities have, since 1936, been elected by direct and universal franchise, Russian influence gained the upper hand in these corporations, too. It is true that Stalin still recognised the right to leave the Union in principle, but at the same time he publicly stated: "It is obvious that we have no republics who would seriously entertain the idea of leaving the USSR"

While the Central Government was supreme, its relation to the Ukrainian state and nationality underwent numerous and profound changes. At first, communist leaders were inclined to ignore the Ukrainian question. But then they realised that the national movement in Ukraine was an instrument of power and that a respect for minorities was a condition of the growth of bolshevism in countries outside Russia, where the question of nationality had not been solved, the communist party began to display a readiness to make concessions. The educational system of Ukraine was organised, the activity of scientific institutes and the All-Ukrainian Academy in Kyiv supported and Russian officials instructed to learn the Ukrainian language in a short time. Considerable concessions were made to Ukrainian economy and if at the time of the New Economic Plan (NEP 1922-23) centralism was not extinct by any means, it seemed as if a tolerable modus vivendi was emerging.

But in 1929-30 when this system of political economy was liquidated in favor of the first Five Year Plan, there was a complete change. When the collectivist system was introduced it was no longer necessary to pay the respect to Ukrainian peasantry that had hitherto resulted in compromises. From now on,

attention was concentrated on building up a system of social 642
economy within Russia, so that it was no longer necessary to 177
bear in mind national movements in western countries, for the .64
world revolution had been postponed for the meantime. The change in Ukraine took place gradually and in contradiction to public expressions of loyalty. The economic needs of Ukraine were ignored already in the first Five Year Plan, the educational system was restricted and the Academy of Learning came completely under communist influence. Ukrainian officials were replaced by Russians and the standing of Ukraine suffered. Russian, as the language of the Revolution, of Lenin and Stalin, was to be the language of one people which had hitherto used several languages, a fact that had concealed the inner unity that had actually existed.

This development caused a fresh outbreak of national resis- 668
tance on the part of the Ukrainians. The movement of the rebels which had at first led to guerilla warfare, ceased about 1921-1922: factors responsible for the cessation of hostilities were the appointment of Ukrainian officials to the administration and the fact that the United Ukrainian Church was tolerated. When this also was forbidden and when the collectivist movement in the country met with the spontaneous resistance of the peasantry, a campaign of terrorism was re-started. "Nationalist" differences appeared even within party organisations: bolshevist dignitaries themselves could not keep clear of the Ukrainian movement. Thus in 1925 Shumskyj, commissary for education in the USSR, a very influential communist, was dismissed; in 1933 Skrypnyk, who held the same office and who was a personal friend of Lenin's, comitted suicide because he was unwilling to confess his "nationalist sins" to the party; his example was followed in 1937 by Lubtshenko, long president of the Council of People's Commissaries, in order not to fall into the hands of the GPU. The number of lesser communist dignitaries who were killed as nationalists or separatists is very great, and still greater is the host of those who did not belong to the communist ranks and who suffered the same fate in the struggle for national rights and political independence.

175 The Peace of Riga (May 18th, 1921) between Poland and
728 Russia allocated to the former Volynia, Polesya and the district of Kholm, formerly parts of the Russian Empire, while the Ambassadors' Council on March 14th, 1923 added Galicia to Poland's gains. In the Treaty of Riga both partners promised to respect the rights of their minorities while the Ambassadors' Council declared that Poland was to issue laws that would preserve Ukrainian rights and that this was why the Entente Powers relegated their supreme authority to Poland. In reality, throughout the period of Polish supremacy there was little or no attempt to satisfy Ukrainian claims. The Ukrainian Chairs, established at Lviv University by Austria, ceased to exist and the law providing for a Ukrainian university was never implemented. Ukrainian schools were slowly but surely replaced by others where Polish was used either in some or in all classes. Polish became the language of instruction in secondary and vocational schools. The Ukrainian language was not recognised legally either in the administration or in law courts and Ukrainian influence declined in all selfgovernment organisations. Poles colonised Ukrainian areas. A campaign of public opposition was opened against the Ukrainian church: hundreds of churches were shut, above all in the district round Kholm, and the buildings were frequently burned.

175 The reaction of the Ukrainian population was considerable.
871 In the field of education steps were taken to organise private Ukrainian schools; thus in 1934-35 there were 21 Ukrainian secondary schools, 5 continuation vocational schools — mostly in the towns. This is no mean accomplishment in view of the Polish resistance. Besides actual schooling. Ukrainian youth outside of the schools was organised. In 1938 in Galicia. alone the Ukrainian Union for Adult Education had half a million members, 84 branches, 3208 reading rooms. 2065 theatrical societies and 1105 choirs (the Union was forbidden by Polish Law outside
175 of Galicia). Cooperative stores also served to support Ukrainian
474 interests. In 1935 there were incorporated in the Ukrainian Central Cooperative Organisation 3013 cooperative societies with a membership of 541 508. This organisation of economic self-help had also to struggle against bitter Polish resistance, as expressed in the military pacification of Galicia in 1930 or the

pogroms in the autumn of 1938 when Ukrainian economic 175
establishments and their equipment in towns in Eastern Galicia
were almost completely demolished by the Polish mob. The 474
Ukrainians who had been incorporated in Roumania had lived 175
undisturbed under the Austrian Empire. In Bucovina there were
Ukrainian elementary and secondary schools and a Ukrainian
Chair at Chernivtsi University. The Ukrainian language was
recognised in administration and law. Under Roumanian supre-
macy these rights were all forfeited and replaced by a policy
of deliberate denationalisation. The only thing that Ukraine
achieved during this period was the introduction of Ukrainian
as an optional subject in some elementary schools. Officials
who were not Roumanian nationals were dismissed without
notice.

Ukrainian territory which belonged to the Czechoslovakian republic, so-called Carpathian Russia, although it was least significant in area and culture, enjoyed the greatest measure of freedom. It cannot, however, be said that Prague satisfied all the national claims of the Ukrainians.

The History of Ukraine

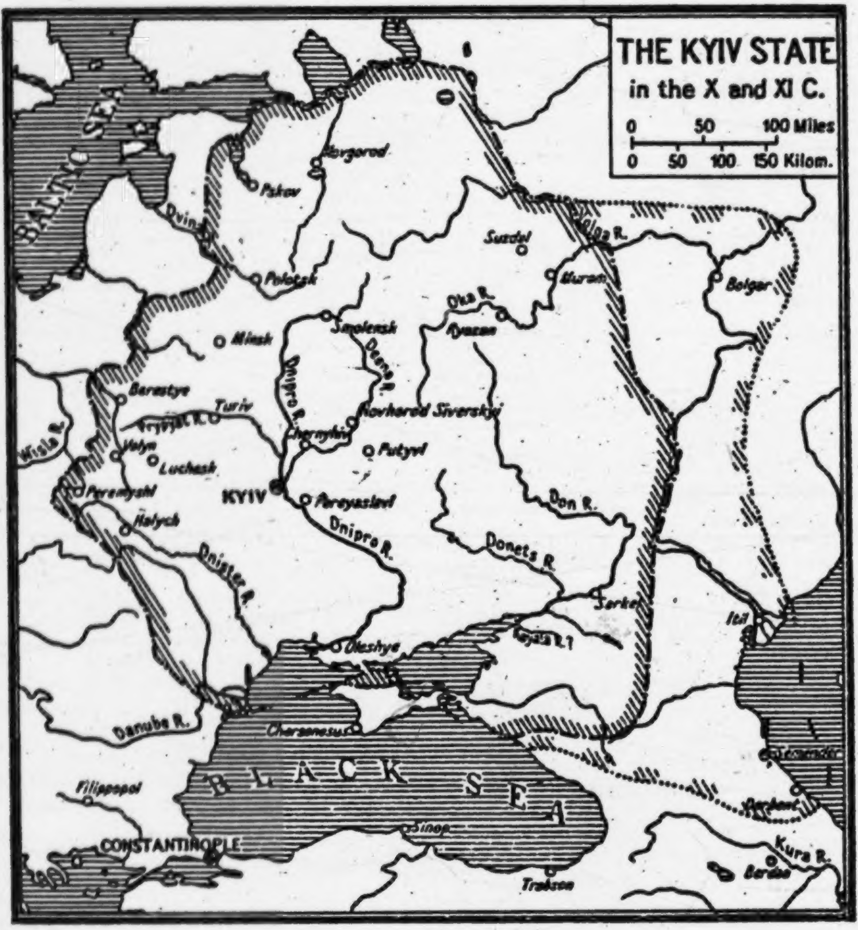
175 The two prime formative influences on the growth of the
167 Ukrainian people are the struggle for the steppe and the drive for expansion southwards; there never was any migratory movement towards Central Europe. All the strenght of the Ukrainian people was absorbed by the struggle in the steppe with an opponent who commanded respect and whose riding tactics were certainly superior to those of European armies of knights, by battles in an area devoid of natural and artificial obstacles, by the necessity of moving repeatedly into the plains of Polesya and Volynia with their great forests and many rivers and lakes whenever the mounted hosts from the east swept over the steppe. It was only at the end of the eighteenth and in the course of the nineteenth century that the steppe was finally subdued, the shores of the Black Sea reached and the eastern frontier pushed far ahead. The expansion of the territory settled on by the Ukrainians which is three times as great as 200 years ago, took place solely at the expense of nomadic peoples. It were the colonial acquisitions of the nineteenth century which brought the Ukrainian people within the orbit of Europe.

This strengthening of the Ukrainian people at its circumference was detrimental to intensive development within the state. Insets of alien nationalities remained on Ukrainian territory, above all in the towns, where trade and industry fell into the hands of foreigners. Partitioned among four states as it was after World War I, and now completely dependent on a rigidly centralised Great Power, the Ukrainian people has not yet evolved a political form of its own. Its future as a state still lies ahead.

175 Ukrainian history may be divided into the following periods:

1) the political supremacy of Kyiv up to 1154
2) the supremacy of the Galician-Volynian state from 1154-1340
3) the Lithuanian-Polish period, 1340-1648
    a) the Lithuanian 1340-1569
    b) the Polish 1569-1648
4) the Cossack State 1648-1782
5) the Russo-Austrian period 1792 (1772)-1918

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine RDl


THE KYIV STATE
in the X and XI C.
0 50 100 Miles
0 50 100 150 Kilom.
BALTIC SEA
Novgorod
Pskov
Dvina
Polotsk
Suzdal
Volga R.
Murom
Bolgar
Oka R.
Ryazan
Smolensk
Minsk
Desna R.
Dnipro R.
Novhorod Siverskyi
Chernyhiv
Putyvl
Berestye
Turiv
Pryp'yat R.
Volyn
Luchesk
Wisla R.
Peremyshl
KYIV
Pereyaslavl
Dnipro R.
Halych
Don R.
Donets R.
Dnister R.
Sarkel
Itil
Oleshye
Chersonesus
Danube R.
Filippopol
BLACK SEA
Sinop
CONSTANTINOPLE
Trebizond
Semender
Derbent
Kura R.
Berdaa

The Kyiv State in the 10th and 11th centuries

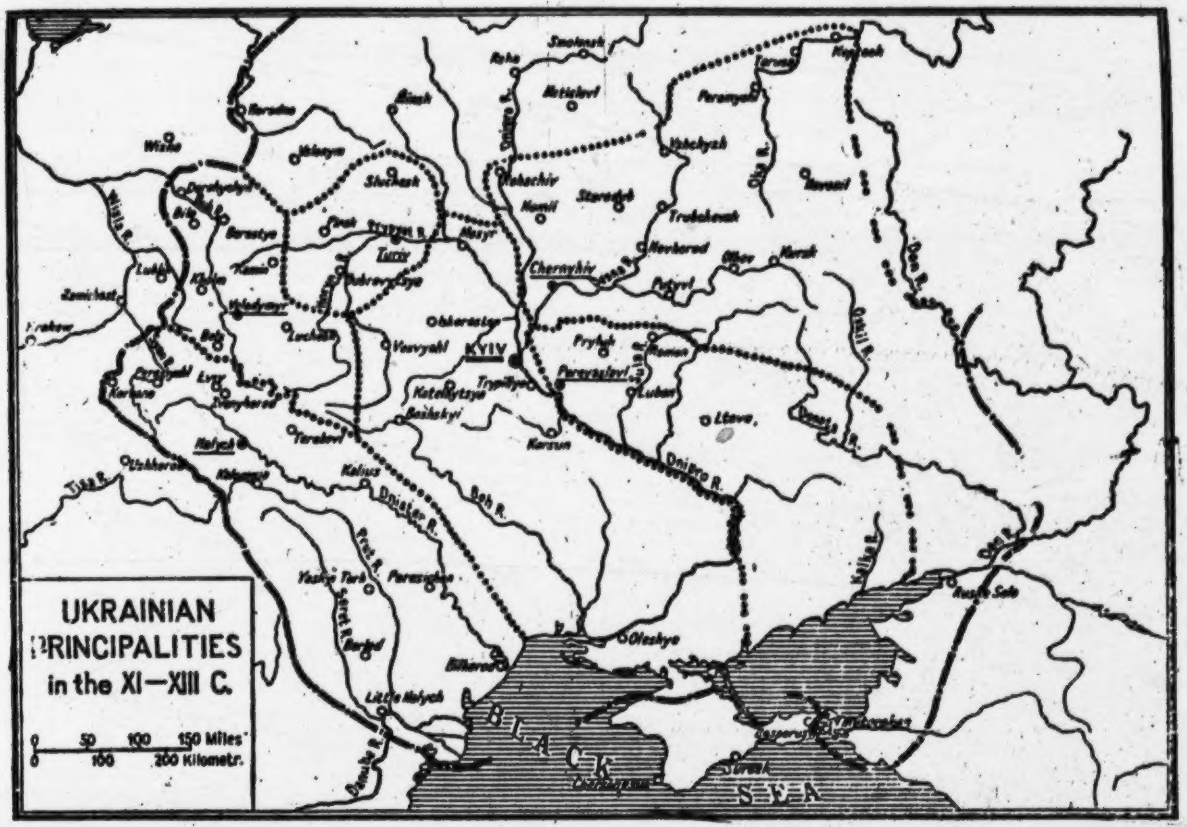
175 Such a division seems practical, even if it does not hold for all sections of the country. Thus for the Right Bank Region the Polish period does not end in 1648 but only with the Second Partition of Poland, and for Galicia it lasts from 1349 till 1772. For Carpatho-Ukraine the Austro-Hungarian period lasts from the beginning till 1918, with short interruptions. But, regarded from the standpoint of the history of the nation as a whole, these areas are peripheral and of lesser significance, in spite of their having repeatedly supplied the capitals with leaders who played a decisive part in national life.

Political Supremacy of Kyiv till 1154

Mention is first made of the Ukrainian people as we know it now in Byzantine chronicles. If we add to these the historical records left by Kyiv monks, we can form an idea of Ukraine at the end of the 9th century as a conglomerate of strictly isolated tribes, each with its own primitive political life. Their religion was uncertain, except for vestiges of a cult of the dead. They had no distinct priest caste. The tribes of the Severyany, the Polyany, the Derevlyany and the White Croats are at this time pushing southwards, the Uglichi and Tyvertsi have already reached the shores of the Black Sea and are in touch with Byzantium. This drive south takes place under the protection of the Khazar Empire which blocked the route of the nomads towards Asia. At the end of the tenth century, Eastern Europe had become the center of the Occident as far as commercial and financial transactions were concerned. An extensive network of waterways faciliated intercourse through the plains of Eastern Europe from north to south. In the seventh and eighth centuries, the Khazars on the Volga flourished as long as they controlled the trade routes to Bagdad, then a highly developed state; the Slavonic tribes on the Dnipro were vassals of the Khazars.

The decay of Bagdad entailed changes in the economic interests of the Khazar Empire, the religion and dynasty of which were of Jewish origin. The Khazars formed closer relations with Byzantine nations, and with the decline of the Volga as a trade route, the Dnipro and the tribes on its banks gained in impor-

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDI Ukraine RDI



UKRAINIAN PRINCIPALITIES in the XI—XIII C.

0 50 100 150 Miles
0 100 200 Kilometr.
Smolensk
Roha
Mstislavl
Minsk
Horodno
Wizna
Slonym
Slutsesk
Drohychyn
Brest
Berestye
Pinsk
Prypyat R.
Turiv
Kamin
Lublin
Kholm
Volodymyr
Zawichost
Krakow
Lutsk
Belz
Dnipro R.
Mozyr
Chernyhiv
Kyiv
Vasyliv
Bilhorod
Trypillya
Pereyaslavl
Kotelnytsya
Boshskyi
Korsun
Prylyk
Romen
Luben
Ltava
Lviv
Peremyshl
Zvenyhorod
Terebovl
Halych
Kolomyja
Kalius
Dnister R.
Boh R.
Uzhhorod
Tysa R.
Prut R.
Seret R.
Vasyliv Torh
Peresichen
Birlad
Bilhorod
Little Halych
Danube R.
Oleshye
Novhorod
Putyvl
Trubchevsk
Starodub
Vshchyzh
Oka R.
Peremyshl
Torusa
Kozelsk
Yelets
Kursk
Olhov
Oskil R.
Donets R.
Don R.
Kalka R.
Rusky Solo
Tmutorokan
Korchev
Surozh
Chersonesus
BLACK SEA

175 tance. Of these, the Polyany, numerically small but excellent soldiers, formed the kernel of the Kyiv state. The most generally accepted theory to-day, that the Kyiv state is of Scandinavian origin, is founded on philology*) alone, while archaeology and traces of law and culture testify against greater Germanic influence. In the army of the Kyiv princes Germanic elements were strongly represented though they were eventually quickly and completely absorbed by the Slavs round them.

At the beginning of the tenth century the power of Kyiv increased rapidly and soon dominated all Slavonic tribes. Novgorod and the area of the upper Volga on Russian soil were annexed. Now the entire trade route from the Gulf of Finnland to the mouth of the Dnipro was under the suzerainty of the Kyiv princes. There were repeated clashes with Byzantium, as is seen by the peace treaties of 911 and 945, these being mostly the result of conflicting trade policies. Prince Svyatoslav the Brave (956-972) destroyed the Khazar Empire and conquered Bulgarian land on the Lower Danube, though only for a decade, for Byzantine pressure forced him to withdraw again after desperate battles.

The destruction of the Khazar Empire was a blunder from the political point of view for it left the way clear for Asiatic nomads to overrun Europe. The first to appear were the Pechenegs who besieged Kyiv in 962. Svyatoslav lost his life and the Ukrainians were pushed back northwards. Svyatoslav's son Volodymyr the Great or Holy (979-1015) was exhausted in the struggle against the Pechenegs; nevertheless he was able to extend his empire by the addition of land in West Ukraine (Galicia and perhaps also Carpathian Ukraine). The fact that he embraced the Greek form of Christianity which permitted the use of Slavonic in its liturgy had still greater

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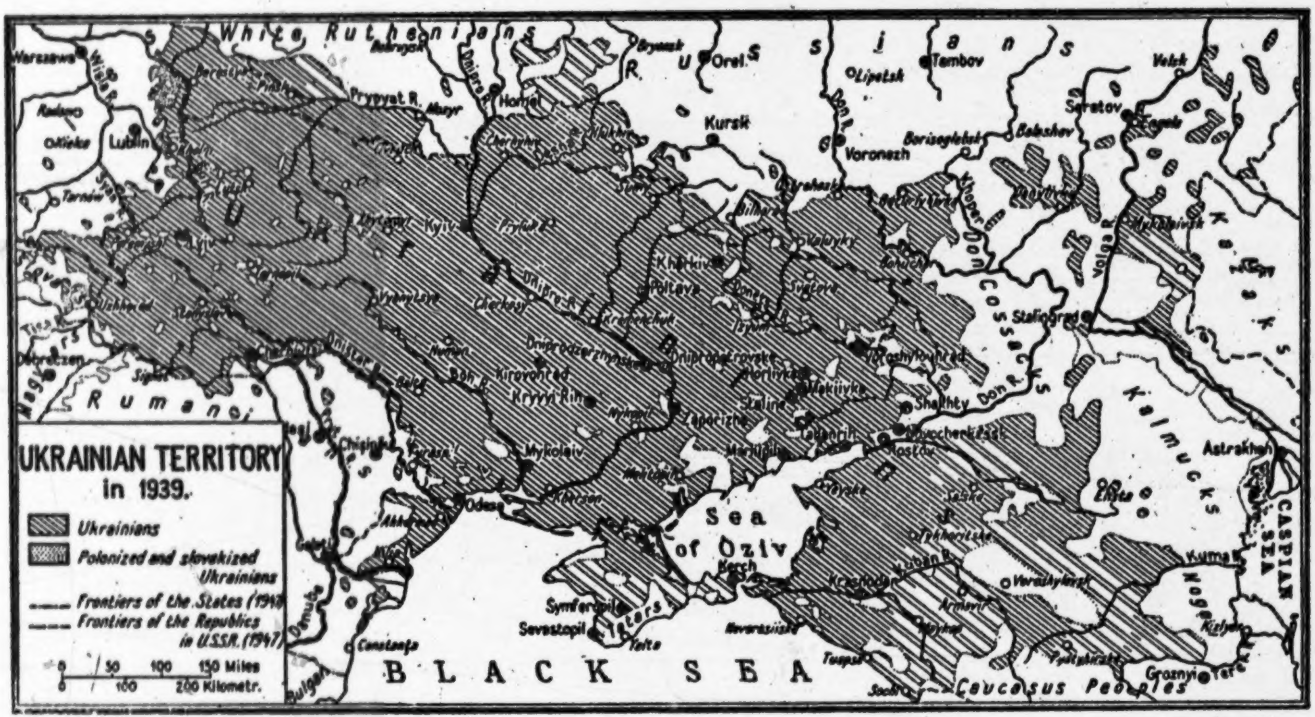
*) The name Rus (Reussen) is said to originate from the Scandinavian Vikings The similarity of the word with "Russia" has led to great confusion. At the time of the Lithuanian realm, Ukrainians and White Ruthenians both called themselves "Reussen" and this is the connotation which the word has in the present text. With the rise of Moscow, the Tsar assumed the title of "Ruler over all Reussen". In the present text, "Russian" and "Russia" are used exclusively for the northern neighbors of the Ukrainians.


UKRAINIAN TERRITORY
in 1939.
Ukrainians
Polonized and slovakized Ukrainians
Frontiers of the States (1947)
Frontiers of the Republics in U.S.S.R. (1947)
0 50 100 150 Miles
0 100 200 Kilometr.
White Ruthenians
Russians
Orel
Tambov
Lipetsk
Kursk
Voronezh
Borisoglebsk
Balashov
Saratov
Engels
Velsk
Warszawa
Lublin
Kielce
Radom
Tarnów
Pryvyat R.
Mozyr
Homel
Dnipro R.
Chernyhiv
Kyiv
Pryluki
Sumy
Kharkiv
Poltava
Donets R.
Izyum
Kremenchuk
Dnipro R.
Cherkasy
Vynnytsya
Zhytomyr
Kirovohrad
Kryvyi Rih
Dniprodzerzhynske
Dnipropetrovske
Zaporizhe
Horlivka
Makiivka
Staline
Voroshylovhrad
Shakhty
Novocherkassk
Rostov
Taganrih
Mariupil
Mykolaiv
Kherson
Odesa
Chisinau
Dnister R.
Stalingrad
Don R.
Volga R.
Cossacks
Kazaks
Kalmucks
Astrakhan
CASPIAN SEA
Kuma R.
Nogai
Kizlyar
Grozny
Terek R.
Voroshylovsk
Armavir
Krasnodar
Kuban R.
Novorossiisk
Tuapse
Sochi
Caucasus Peoples
Sea of Oziv
Kerch
Symferopil
Sevastopil
Yalta
Tatars
BLACK SEA
Constanta
Danube
Bulgaria
Rumania
Magyars
Debreczen
Tisa R.
Uzhhorod
Stanyslaviv
Chernivtsi
Peremyshl
Lviv
Ternopil

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDI Ukraine RDI

175 repercussions. The reigns of Volodymyr and his son Yaroslav (1019-1054) mark the zenith of the power of Kyiv. In the battle at Eckfeld (1036) the Pechenegs were so utterly routed that they henceforth disappear completely from Ukrainian history. The first collection of Eastern Slavonic laws, the law of the "Reussen" (Ruskaja Pravda) dates from these years. From it we learn that the prince and his body-guard held the central power of the state. The latter lived at the prince's court and supplied the most important state officials. Its members were bound to the prince, though not insolubly, by oaths of loyalty and obedience. The prince consulted his body-guard before launching any important undertaking.

The town was the political center of the surrounding country and the town assembly the supreme authority of administration. A certain balance of power was maintained between the towns and the dynasty for they were dependent on each other. The peasantry had no political rights though its members were personally free and only paid tribute in kind to the prince and his body-guard. In addition there were also slaves, mostly recruited from captives taken in battle.

The theory that the entire dynasty should have the right to rule as princes prevailed generally, i. e. every prince claimed a share of the paternal possessions. This naturally caused a splitting up of the country which inevitably led to decay.

Principalities grew up in Pereyaslav, Chernyhiv and Galicia, and Turiv-Pinsk, but these became later still more disintegrated. The authority of the Grand Prince was centered in Kyiv and lasted for about another century. For the rest, there were incessant internal feuds which involved the larger cities as well as the country districts.

About the year 1060 great hordes of Asiatics, the Polovtsy or Cumans swept over the eastern frontier. The unity of the state was a thing of the past, resistance was weak and the land was hurried into the heart of the country round Kyiv and Chernyhiv. It was only after Volodymyr Monomakh, Yaroslav's son and Prince of Pereyaslav, succeeded in routing the Polovtsy in 1103 and 1111 that peace prevailed for a time.

Monomakh became Grand Prince of Kyiv (1113-1125); and the years of his reign and that of his son, Mstyslav, mark for the last time the supremacy of Kyiv. At the same time the jealousy of the Chernyhiv dynasty caused a hundred years' struggle for the prize of Kyiv. Monomakh's youngest son profited by these feuds and founded on Russian soil the principality of Suzdal and later Vladimir. The Finnish-Slav state seceded from Kyiv, soon acquired considerable power, finally aiming at supremacy over Kyiv. After the death of Isyaslav (Mstyslav's son) who had been able to maintain the authority of the state on the Dnipro from 1146 till 1154, Kyiv was stormed and sacked by the Suzdal troops in 1169. The victory of the Kyiv princes at Vishgorod (1172) rescued the country from direct dependence on Suzdal, but up to the beginning of the 13th century supremacy in Eastern Europe was centered in the settlements in Russia, north of Ukraine.

The end of the Kyiv state is linked with the decay of Byzantium and the ebb of the Scandinavian wave of expansion, both of which robbed the capital on the Dnipro of its importance as a center of trade. The inroads of Asiatic nomads made for a general feeling of insecurity and so, up to the 19th century, Ukraine remained on the periphery of the civilised world, impotent to attain its former greatness. The traditional customs of living in the primitive state which had been founded on trade, were gradually disintegrated and replaced by a new society which was in some ways analogous to the feudalism of Western Europe.

Political Supremacy of the Realm of Galicia and Volynia

Towards the end of the 11th century a new state grew up in the western part of Volodymyr's realm. At the turn of the century Galicia had already become a powerful principality that had successfully defended itself against Poland and Hungary. At that time it comprised the valleys of the Dnister and the Prut as far as the Black Sea. These rivers had gained in importance as they were less threatened by nomads than the Dnipro, especially in view of the Crusades. Nevertheless the Galician-Volynian realm never attained the position of Kyiv.

175 It enjoyed a period of prosperity under Yaroslav Osmomysl (1153—1187). As it was only sparsely populated, it had to expand east at the expense of the principality of Kyiv and thus had to come into conflict with the principality of Suzdal.

The solidarity of its ruling house was the chief foundation of Galicia's strength. Usually several brothers were ruling at the same time; the younger or less talented submitted themselves to the others without question. Its weakness lay in the country aristocracy, the boyars, with the resources of their estates behind them, and not bound to the person of the prince. The history of the Galician-Volynian state is a record of feuds between the prince and the boyars. While the Volynian nobility remained loyal to the prince, their Galician compeers did not shrink from alliances with rebel groups or foreign powers (Poland and Hungary). In these constant struggles Roman the Great, Prince of Volynia (1199—1205) gained a great, but only temporary victory; after overcoming the resistance of the boyars, he took Kyiv and ruled over almost all Ukraine. His early death prevented the consolidation of these successes; their sole lasting result was the union of Galicia with Volynia whither Roman's wife had fled with her young son, Danylo. In the long feuds connected with the dynastic succession. that laid Galicia waste, Volynia was an island of peace from which Danylo in the thirties extended his power once more to Kyiv. Then the invasion of the Mongols changed the situation entirely.

Already in 1223 a battle had been fought on the Kalka between the Mongols and the princes of Eastern Europe; but at first this victory of the Asiatics had no consequences to speak of, as they immediately withdrew to the east. In 1240 a new incursion followed, claiming Kyiv as a victim. From time to time Danylo had to acknowledge the supremacy of the Tatars but his entire energy was now directed towards throwing off the Mongol yoke at all costs. After routing the combined Hungarian and Polish armies at Yaroslav in 1245, thus putting an end to the claims of both countries for a hundred years, he tried to win the support of the Pope for a crusade against the Mongols. All he received at the Papal hands, however, was the royal crown (1253). All Danylo's attempts to attack the Tatars singlehanded were in vain and in 1264 he died.

By this time the Galician-Volynian state was played out. The lands in Eastern Ukraine were lost, minor successes of Leo (12[illegible]4—1300) and George I (1300—1308) did not last. In 1340 the last scion of the Rurik dynasty, George II Boleslav was poisoned, the consequence being the occupation of these areas by Poland.

Lviv, founded in the middle of the 13th century, is characteristic for the development of Galicia during this era. The Magdeburg Code was introduced into Western Ukraine and the social structure of society in the provinces adjacent to the Tatars was changed. The small princes became simple landowners. In the Kyiv district and Podolia, however, independent village communities arose which only paid certain tribute to the Khan's officials. The yoke of dependence was not heavy, and when the empire of the Tatars (the Golden Horde) began to dissolve, single communities became quite independent. These relatively good relations between Ukrainians and Mongols ended with the expansion of the state of Lithuania-Reussen.

The Lithuanian-Polish Period

From the 13th century the Lithuanians, under pressure of German colonisation in the east, had been seeking to form an alliance with the higher developed Slavonic tribes on its frontiers. These had so little political unity that they offered no resistance to the Lithuanian advance. Lithuanian princes were often called to the throne, marriages took place between Lithuanian and Ukrainian royal houses, and when George II Boleslav was murdered, the Lithuanian Prince Lubart was called to be head of the Galician-Volynian state. Lithuanian towns like Vilna, Grodno, or Kovno were Slavonic in character. As the supremacy of Lithuania-Reussen did not affect life in the single provinces, this state really consisted of a union of half independent states.

The deeper reason for the rise of the Lithuanian state lay in the decline of the trade route to the Black Sea and the fall of the Byzantine Empire. On the other hand towns like Breslau, Riga and Danzig prospered and this new life was not without importance for Ukraine. When the Teutonic Order cut

175 these centers off, the peoples of Eastern Europe allied themselves with the German towns and rose against the Order.

After the final decline of the Golden Horde Lithuanian feudalism determined political and social life among the tribes of "Reussen". Smart military organisation transformed peaceful peasant communities into settlements of soldiers. The nobility were bound by oath to bear arms; the peasants who were personally free, had to support their overlord by tributes while they were constantly at his command. In case of disobedience the land passed into the possession of the state. The citizens were responsible for the fortifications of the towns and maintenance of the garrisons. The higher nobility had some sovereign rights and played the part of intermediary between prince and people.

Under the Lithuanian Prince Gedymin (1315—1341) the Prypyat area was annexed to the state of Lithuania-Reussen. His son Olgerd was converted to the Orthodox Faith. He completed his father's work, beat the Tatars at the "Blue Water" (1363) and liberated the whole of Ukraine from the Mongols. Five years later he sacked Moscow, thereby protecting his eastern provinces from the rising power of the Muscovites. His most stubborn battles were those waged against the Teutonic Order and for succession to the state Volynia and Galicia (1340—87). Olgerd's brother, the Prince Lubart already mentioned, managed to keep Volynia only and it remained a reliable province in the Reussen state. In 1386 Yagailo, Olgerd's successor, acquired the throne of Poland by marrying the young queen Yadwiga; at the same time he joined the Roman Catholic Church, many of his nobles following his example, and he united Lithuania and Poland.

This union led to a rising of the Ukrainian nobility who thought that Poland had deceived them. Vitold, Yagailo's nephew, forced his uncle to acknowledge him as Grand Prince of Lithuania and his reign (1392—1430) marks the height of the power of the Lithuania-Reussen union. The Ukrainians reached the coast of the Black Sea for the second time and came into contact with the Genoese colonists in Crimea. Moscow was forced to recognise the suzerainty of Vitold. The victory at Grunwald

(1410) put an end to all danger from the Teutonic Order. At the same time he played off the Prussians against the Poles to keep the latter in check. Vitold's state was systematically centralised and the little principalities disappeared. Fedor Koryatovych, Lord of Podolia, crossed the Carpathians and laid the foundation for the more dense colonisation of Carpatho-Ukraine. (1393—1415).

Vitold's death was followed by lengthy domestic feuds. If the Poles succeeded in gaining Podolia, the attack on Volynia was held up by the courageous defense of Lutsk (1430). The nobles were victorious after the murder of Grand Prince Sigismund (1432-1440). In the reign of Kasimir, Sigismund's successor (1440-1492), a "council of the nobles" conducted the affairs of the state. In 1446 Kasimir also became King of Poland; henceforth the king's person was the only link between Poland and the Lithuania-Reussen union.

The supremacy of the nobles in Lithuania was the beginning of decay. Poland, strengthened by the weakness of Germany in the 15th century, made increased efforts to join the neighboring state. In the east, Moscow's power was increasing, while Crimea in the south was in the hands of part of the Golden Horde. The Khans in Crimea recognised the suzerainty of Turkey in 1475 and for several years they made an annual incursion into Ukraine, sacking all in their way. Once more Ukraine had to abandon the sea-coast. The country was laid waste as far as the Prypyat and in 1482 Kyiv itself was destroyed. The Russians formed an alliance with the Tatars from Crimea and took Homel, Chernyhiv, and Smolensk. The reigns of Kasimir and his son Alexander (1492—1506) were a succession of catastrophes which was only broken by a breathing-space under Sigismund I (1506—1548). The Russians were beaten by the Volynian prince, Constantin Ostrozhskyj, at Orsha (1514) and protection from the Tatars on the frontier was better organised.

While the rule of the nobles brought constant unrest to Lithuania, Poland absorbed western culture and finally attracted some Ukrainian nobles. They became more and more Polish till the union between Reussen and Lithuania was so weakened that Sigismund II, the last of the Yagailo dynasty, accomplished

175 the real union of Poland with Reussen and Lithuania. Thus, the Ukrainian areas, while retaining their own language and laws, came under the control of Poland.

The Polish Period

By this time attacks by the Tatars in the Crimea were beginning to slacken. At the same time increasing prosperity in Central and Western Europe caused a greater demand for grain. The fertile soil of the steppe attracted cultivators and the Ukrainians began to expand again, though no longer as military colonies, but as large landowners, they alone being able to maintain the forces necessary for fighting against the Tatars. The lot of the ordinary peasant grew worse, the change in his status being reflected in various laws and finally in the Statute of Lithuania, issued in 1529. The first version was still founded on the law of the Kyiv dynasty but later (1566, 1588) the peasantry was degraded to a serfdom that had no rights at all.

The freedom of the towns also came to an end. It is true that the kings tried to win over the towns by granting them the Magdeburg Code but this intention was thwarted by the nobles, who as starosts, voevodes and officials in these towns were able to command armed support for themselves.

After 1569 the aristocrat was the only citizen of the Polish Republic to enjoy full rights and the same held for Ukrainian aristocrats. They became more and more Polish and Roman Catholic, a process hastened by the Jesuit seminaries that sprang up during the Counter-Reformation. Thus the greater part of its leading circles was lost to the Ukrainian people and little resistance was offered to the campaign of the Church of Rome. Only when, in the reign of Sigismund III (1587—1632), the Metropolitan of Kyiv and most of the bishops decided at the Council of Brest-Litovsk to proclaim the union did part of the population rebel. Brotherhoods were formed to defend the faith; but as they did not enjoy the protection of the nobles who had embraced the Roman Catholic faith, they were powerless to carry out any comprehensive scheme of action. It was only when the Cossacks intervened as the champions of the Orthodox population that matters were altered.

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Cossacks — a Tatar-Turkish name for vagabonds and fighters — those Ukrainians were called who in summer earned a hard living on the steppe frontiers under constant threat of attack by the Tatars, and who thereafter, in autumn, sold the harvest of their labor in the towns (honey, fur, leather, fish and, later, also grain). They began to set up a military organisation of their own and to attack the Tatars independently (for the first time in 1492). 175

A proud feeling of independence developed among the Cossacks who were bound by no feudal laws of serfdom. They attracted numerous peasants desirous of throwing off the nobles' yoke. The bitter struggle against the frontier guards who represented the supremacy of the nobles, resulted in the formation of societies like the Zaporog Fastness „Sitsh", a fort founded amid the rapids on the Dnipro by the Cossack leader Prince Dmytro Vyshnevetskyj. All the surrounding area was regarded by the Cossacks as the special property of the Zaporog army, which only nominally acknowledged the superiority of the Polish king, while entertaining its own relations with foreign neighbors.

In 1571 King Sigismund II recognised the Cossacks as the protectors of the frontier and as auxiliary troops in time of war. The Cossacks paid no taxes; they had their own law courts and administration under a Hetman. The Cossack, therefore, was a member of a privileged class, which attracted many of the settled Ukrainian population. This influx changed the entire Cossack organisation, while the defense of national faith and life enhanced its popularity.

In the second half of the 16th century the Cossacks began to launch attacks, by water and on land. Constantinople, even, seems to have been threatened. But they also rose against the great landowners in Ukraine. It is true that the Polish general, Zolkiewski, inflicted defeat on Nalyvajko, the Cossack Hetman, at the Solonytsia (1596), but the rout was not complete. Poland required the help of the Cossacks in her wars in Moldavia, Livonia and against the Russians (1604—1613) and had therefore to continue granting them concessions. The position of Ukrainians in Poland was strengthened when Chernyhiv was once more seized from the Russians. At this time, Peter Konashevych-Zahaidachnyj (1614—1622); a Cossack leader, appears as spokesman for the entire Ukrainian people. His conduct towards the Poles was loyal; he saved the Polish troops under Prince Vladislav, who were besieged before Moscow and took a number of enemy fortresses. After Zolkiewski's death at Tsetsora (1620), Sahaidachnyj took over the command of the troops against the Turks and with the Poles won the victory at Hotin. At the same time he promoted the interest of Ukraine by bestowing the See of the Kyiv Metropolitan, vacant since the union of Brest, on the Patriarch of Antioch. He also strengthened the Kyiv Brotherhood and the Academy founded in 1615, which had been a refuge for scholars forced by the Poles to flee from Galicia. Jesuite intrigues and the persecution of adherents to the Orthodox faith combined with the cleft between Cossacks and nobles to make the continuance of Cossack loyalty to Poland impossible. There were various Cossack risings (1625, 1630, 1637-1638) which, though resulting in victory for the Poles, did not lead to any definite decision.

The Cossack Period

The man who succeeded in uniting the Ukrainian people against the Poles was Bohdan Khmelnytskyj, born in 1593, Hetman from 1648 up till 1657. He formed an alliance with the Crimean Tatars and attacked the Poles. By his victories at the Yellow Waters (Shovti Vody) and Korsun he liberated the Dnipro areas. After his victory at Pylava he marched on Varsaw. Circumstances such as the death of King Vladislav IV (1632-48), the accession of the new king and Polish peace overtures persuaded him to retreat; but when peace negotiations fell through, Khmelnytskyj besieged a Polish army at Zbarash and beat the new king, Jan Kazimir, at Zboriv. Thanks to the mediation of the Tatar Khan, peace followed for two years.

The reason for Khmelnytskyj's success was his great talent as an organiser. He merged the Ukrainian lesser nobility which had remained loyal to the Orthodox faith with the Cossacks, increased the fighting value of the Cossack army, and freed the peasants from serfdom and the tyranny of the gentry. The entire country received a military organisation and was divided into hundreds (sotni). The head of a hundred directed all the administrative, legal and military affairs in his district. The military commander and the Hetman were the supreme authorities. The Lithuanian Statute continued valid for the open country while the Magdeburg Code held in the towns. The area round the Zaporog Fastness was a special unit of administration, subject to the Hetman alone. Khmelnytskyj's rebellion put an end for ever to the idea of the Yagailo dynasty (i. e. that Ukrainians and Poles should live in one state). An alliance with Russia was even accepted in order to win the freedom of Ukraine from Polish supremacy. This alliance was concluded by the Hetman in 1654 at Perejaslav after various battles, (defeat of the Cossacks at Berestechko in 1651; Khmelnytskyj's victories at Batih in 1652 and Zvanets in 1653). Ukraine acknowledged the Tsar as overlord, but retained its own army, finances and foreign policy. The combined Ukrainian and Russian armies now took Smolensk and Vilna and, with the help of the Grand Prince of Transylvania, the Cossacks occupied Varsaw. But when Khmelnytskyj saw that the Tsar was not willing to acknowledge the independent rights of Ukraine, he formed alliance with Transylvania and Sweden. The Hetman died while those negotiations were in progress.

Internal unrest, caused by the attempts of gentry and Cossack authorities to restrict the freedom of the peasants still further, resulted in a movement among the broad masses of the people for alliance with Russia. As there were at the same time feuds between the Cossack aristocracy and the Hetman it was easy for the Tsar to exploit the situation. Another important factor in the general dissatisfaction of the people was the attempt made by the Zaporog Fastness under Ivan Zirko (died 1680) to obtain hegemony over Ukraine. The result was that some of the Cossack gentry wished to renew the alliance with Poland. Thus Ukraine was divided and two Hetmans were appointed simultaneously. The Cossacks who wished to be rid both of Poland and Russia, joined with the Turks, thus completing the chaos. The so-called "ruin", or Time of Troubles, began (1657—1676), a time of decay when Ukraine was divided. Hetmann Ivan Vyhovskyj (1657-59) formed an alliance with Poland and

175 beat the Russians at Konotop (1659). But he was forced to abdicate by circles hostile to Poland. Yurij Khmelnytskyj had to follow suit after four years in office, he having inherited his father's name but none of his gifts. Paul Teterya (1663-1665) and Ivan Brjukhovetskyj (1663-68) were too servile to foreign rulers to enjoy the respect of their own people; the former, with Polish help, ruled over the Right Bank area, while the latter controlled the Left Bank with the help of Russia. There were lively battles between the two factions.

A final partition was arrived at in the Peace of Andrusovo (1667) when the Right Bank area fell to Poland, while the Left Bank came under the suzerainty of Moscow. Ukraine laid down arms. Hetman Peter Doroshenko (1665-76) drove out Poland and Russia for a short time and sought refuge with the Turks; but the latter kept Podolia and their Tatar allies pillaged Ukraine. Poland and Russia set up a Hetman in opposition (Michael Khanenko 1669-1974; Damian Mnohohrishnyj 1668-1672; Ivan Samoylovych 1672—1687).

Doroshenko finally surrendered to Samoylovych who fought with the help of Russia, trying in vain to unite all the Ukrainian area. Poland, Turkey and Russia agreed to let the Dnipro Right Bank area lie waste for ever; the remnant of the people living there was driven by force on to the Left Bank. A fresh attempt on the part of Jan Sobieski III to settle Cossack captains on the devastated area led to the military organisation of Semen Palij who made Fastiv his center of operation (1688-1704). He protected the country against the Tatars, acquired for it a measure of independence from the Poles and recognised the suzerainty of Ivan Mazeppa, who had succeeded Samoloyvych as Hetman. This led to fresh conflict with Poland. In 1702 Palij took Bila Tserkva, thus extending his power to the Dnister. Mazeppa, who, by command of Peter the Great, marched against Charles XII of Sweden in 1704, once more united the territory conquered by Palij to the Left Bank Region

Mazeppa (1687-1709) was the last great Ukrainian Hetman. He managed to convince Peter the Great of his loyalty while remaining the actual ruler of Ukraine. When Charles XII marched against Moscow, Mazeppa thought that the hour had come for throwing off the Russian yoke completely. The Zaporog Fastness joined the alliance between Mazeppa and Sweden. But Peter invaded Ukraine so quickly that plans for a general rising were frustrated. The Russians were victorious at Poltava. Charles XII and Mazeppa fled to Turkey where the latter died shortly afterwards (1709). An attempt made by Pylyp Orlyk, his successor, to regain Ukraine, failed. The Zaporog Fastness joined the Tatars and erected their new Fastness on the Lower Dnipro.

Ukraine now lost all its special privileges. Mazeppa's successor, Ivan Skoropadskyj, was Hetman merely in name, while on the other hand, the Cossack aristocracy grew in importance so that Ukraine became an autonomous oligarchy within the Russian Empire. Often for long intervals there was no Hetman and a "Little Russian Board", consisting of Russian and Ukrainian officers, ruled the country. Though fresh concessions were made to Ukraine by Peter's weak successor, the good old days had gone for ever.

It was Catherine II who finally put an end to home rule in Ukraine. In 1764 Hetman Cyril Rosumovskyj had to abdicate and in 1775 the Fastness was destroyed for good. The Zaporog Cossacks founded a new Fastness at the mouth of the Danube in Turkey (existed till 1828) and laid the foundation of Ukrainian colonisation in Southern Bessarabia. In 1782 governments on the Russian model took the place of regiments. Catherine did indeed appoint her favorite, Prince Potemkin, to be Hetman (1790-91) and tried to form new Cossack regiments, but the attempt failed from the start. About the middle of the 18th century the new Cossack aristocracy acquired Russian manners and education and were lost to the nation; they forfeited all their special privileges for equal rights with Russian nobles, while the Ukrainian peasants became serfs. The mass of the Cossacks continued to exist as personally free peasants, but it lost all military organisation. Their name appears in history for the last time in 1812 and 1831 when they voluntarily marched against Napoleon and the Poles respectively. In 1835 the Magdeburg Code was abolished as was also the Lithuanian Statute in 1842.

175 In order to consolidate her power in Ukraine, Russia gave the Right Bank of the Dnipro back to Poland. But the Polish Republic of nobles was not able to assert itself against the Zaporog Fastness and its guerilla warfare (Haydamak movement). At times (1743, 1750, 1768) all Ukraine rose in rebellion. It was only after the destruction of the Zaporog Fastness that the country became quiet and complete order was re-established only after the Second Partition of Poland when the Right Bank Area of Ukraine was given to Russia. In the Carpathians there were also risings, the rebels being called „Opryshki“ there. More important, however, is the colonisation which took place here in the 18th century. At that time Ukrainian settlements reached the river Tisa.

The eastern areas of Ukraine, the so-called Slobodian Ukraine, were quietest in these troublous times. Here the war-weary people of the western districts found refuge and peaceful work. It is true that the country belonged to the Tsar, but the Ukrainian people were allowed to retain a certain measure of self-government, and the Cossack organisation. Both of these were finally abolished in 1765 when the Slobodian aristocracy also became russianised.

The Russo-Austrian Period

175 In the 19th century it seemed as if the Ukrainian people had
167 more or less resigned themselves to being under Russian rule. All energy was concentrated on colonising the areas freed from Turks and Tatars; the frontiers of the country settled by Ukrainians were pushed farther and farther east and south. Russia was not blind to the threat to her national existence implied in this movement and sought to counteract Ukrainian expansion by forming colonies of Germans, Bulgars, and Greeks. But to no avail. Ukrainian colonisation crossed the upper and the lower reaches of the Don and villages even sprang up on the eastern bank of the Volga. Finally the Kuban area was settled by descendants of the Zaporog Cossacks who first occupied territory in North Caucasia and later, after bitter struggles with the mountain tribes in the Caucasus, had spread south.

175 The general situation of the Ukrainian people thus improved in this era of peaceful consolidation. The coast of the Black

Sea was reached, serfdom revoked (1861), valuable deposits of 175
coal, iron and manganese were discovered; the population increased considerably, all of which caused other national questions
to recede into the background. It was only in 1900 that the 175
first unmistakable signs of the spread of national consciousness 186
among the broad masses began to appear. In this year the 668
Revolutionary Ukraine Party included a demand for an independent Ukraine in its program and the Ukraine movement made great progress in the short constitutional period after 1905. Ukrainian books and reviews, the idea of national societies and unions for adult education began to spread. And yet we must admit to-day that national consciousness among the peasants was slow to awaken; the solution of social questions was felt to be more urgent.

In Galicia more progress was made. At the outbreak of World War I there was already a well-developed system of Ukrainian schools, gymnastic societies and cooperative associations built up in constant conflict with Polish officials. The Ukrainians were loyal in their feelings for Austria; they thought that the victory of the German side would bring their own national struggle immediate advantages.

Revolution and Post-War Years

When war broke out, Ukrainian divisions immediately took 175
part voluntarily in the fighting in the Carpathians. Special 669
camps were erected for Ukrainian prisoners of war in which Ukrainians were separated from the Russians and trained in the spirit of nationalism. In the country itself the Ukraine Central Council was formed at Kyiv after the fall of the Tsar and it demanded the right of self-government from the provisional government in St. Petersburg. This was refused and negotiations were broken off when the bolshevists finally seized power. Towards the end of 1917 Lenin sent bolshevist troops to Kyiv, whereupon the Central Council declared the independence of Ukraine on January 22nd, 1918. Now the misfortune that political power was almost exclusively in the hands of members of the socialist and democratic Left, avenged itself; for those parties had no experience in the political control of a state. No

steps were taken to create a national army. While the peasants were engaged in carrying out agrarian reforms, they were horrified to hear that the Central Council was planning to do away with private property altogether.

The Central Council was strengthened anew by the Peace of Brest-Litovsk. German and Austrian troops occupied the whole of Ukraine. But soon the Utopian social policy of the Central Council led to friction with the Germans so that they furthered the coup d'état of April 29th, 1918 whereby Paul Skoropadskyj, the descendant of a former Hetman became the ruler of Ukraine. But Skoropadskyj's policy of conciliation towards conservative and military groups which were more or less indifferent with regard to national problems soon met with opposition with Ukrainian nationalists. When in November 1918 the Hetman announced the federation of the new Russian state to be established from a center in the south area, there was a general rising. The Germans left Ukraine along with the Hetman as the war had meantime drawn to a close and in December 1918 a Council of Rebels took over the government in Kyiv. It had been possible to mobilise the peasantry against Skoropadskyj because they were told that under his authority they would have to give back the land that had been taken from the nobles; but the Council was unable to devise any effective slogan against bolshevism, it being itself entirely under the influence of cosmopolitan and international theories.

So the reunion with Galicia (constituted as "West-Ukrainian Republic" after the fall of the Danube monarchy) that was proclaimed on February 22nd, 1919 in Kyiv was merely the recognition of a principle. The war on two fronts against Poland and the bolshevists overtaxed the powers of the new-born state. In February 1919 Kyiv was lost and shortly after there was only a small part of Podolia still in the Council's hands. In July the government decided to abandon the struggle against Poland and to concentrate its energy against the bolshevists. The united army of Galicia and the Eastern Ukraine beat the bolshevists and towards the end of August Kyiv was re-taken. At this point Denikin's Russian White army attacked the flank of the Ukrainians who were forced to retreat once more. Typhus decimated

the forces. Simon Petlura, who was in command, negotiated 175
with the Poles for an alliance against Russia. All men still fit 669
for service were organised to produce a successful guerilla attack against Denikin's lines of communication and those of the bolshevists. Late in the spring of 1920 the Ukrainians, having once more beaten the bolshevists, formed an alliance with the Poles. A counter-attack by the bolshevists resulted in a common front of Poles and Ukrainians, on the south wing of which the latter defended the Dnister line. After the "miracle on the Vistula" the Poles forgot their allies who had finally to clear out of Podolia at the end of November.

As a result of these struggles the greatest part of Ukraine became an "independent republic". In reality the country was handed over to the central bolshevist power. Moreover about 7 million Ukrainians were incorporated in Russian territory. The Ambassadors' Council of 1923 allocated Galicia to Poland and that province, as well as the neighboring provinces of Volynia, Polesya and the district of Kholm enjoyed all the advantages of the Polish police system for two decades. Carpathian Ukraine which in 1919 had voluntarily joined Ukraine, was annexed to Czechoslovakia after the end of the war, while Bucovina and Bessarabia fell to Roumania. In spite of this partition of Ukrainian territory the struggles of 1917-1920 cannot be regarded as a failure.

Thanks to them the Ukrainian idea has now become the possession of the entire people.

It is obvious that hard times are ahead of the Ukrainians but the end of the present situation (the whole Ukrainian territory is occupied by the Soviet Union to-day) is in sight. There is a general feeling of injustice that spurs the people's determination to utilise every opportunity of launching a campaign for the life of the national state!

National Minorities in Ukraine

162 563 Minorities in Ukraine amount to 20 % in purely Ukrainian territory and to 24.7 % in other parts of the country and are the consequence of long domination by foreigners and the immigration that entailed. The same cause is responsible for increasing Jewish immigration; Jews have always appeared to assist the spread of Russian influence in the East and Polish in the West.

175 167 563 Contemporary minorities rarely date earlier than the second half of the 18th century, if we except a few peripheral areas in the west, the Tatars in Crimea and Russian colonisation in the east in the 17th century. Several earlier efforts made by the Polish Government and individual magnates to colonise the Right Bank region of Ukraine were unsuccessful; the first wave spent itself in the 16th century in the rebellion of Khmelnytskyj, while later colonists were completely absorbed by the native Ukrainian population. The Roman Catholic faith was able to persist only in a few places. A similar fate overtook Roumanian expansion in the 14th and 15th centuries in the Carpathians; it left traces in names and in the legal code of the settlements.

167 563 The Russians form the largest minority. Apart from the common colonisation of the Don area, it was only after the catastrophe at Poltava (1709) that Russians slowly penetrated into Ukraine. More numerous Russian settlers did not arrive till after there was no longer a Hetman (1764) and after the destruction of the Cossack Fortress (1775). At the same time the Turks were driven back from the Black Sea; the Ukrainian population, which had suffered great losses in the struggles with Turks and Tatars, was unable to tackle this job alone. But the Russians, who had been systematically settled, were disinclined to cultivate the steppe and preferred to move into the rising towns as officials, artisans and laborers.

Ten thousands of German colonists took their place, settled by Catherine II in the former Governments of Kherson, Taurien, and Katerynoslav, later also in Southern Bessarabia. At the same time Emperor Joseph II settled German colonists in

Southern Galicia and Bucovina. Immigrants who were of the 167
same faith as the Ukrainians also arrived at this time from 563
Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia and Roumania (partly also from Armenia).

In the eighteen eighties the Russian Peasants' Bank settled 162
tens of thousands of Polish, German and Czech colonists 563
in Volynia. By far the majority of Poles in Galicia and in the 167
Kholm district also settled there as late as the second half of the 19th century, in Volynia and Polessia even in the 20th (in many cases after 1920). Single Polish settlements in the Right Bank region (especially in Podolia) are later in origin. Elsewhere the Polish population has been preserved in the towns only, the workshops and estates belonging to Polish landed proprietors. Even the "most Polish" area of Ukraine, the Markhlevitskyj district in Eastern Volynia, which was formed artificially for political reasons, only had 28 332 Poles, of whom, however, only 10 715 actually spoke Polish.

After the end of the 18th century Eastern Galicia was almost 162
purely Ukrainian; there were Poles only in the towns, in the 563
administration and in connection with big estates. This fact was emphatically recorded by Graf Pergen, an eminent Austrian official, after Galicia was transferred to Austria (1772). The official census reports for 1846 and 1851 still represented the Galician province of the Austrian empire as predominantly Ukrainian; 50.1 % (2 441 771) Ukrainians as compared with 40.9 % (1 994 802) Poles. The statistics for 1857 are: 45.2 % Ukrainians, 42.7 % Poles, 2.5 % Germans and 9.7 % Jews.

The Polish element has been artificially increased only since 1867, and then only slowly. In taking the census, the actual state of affairs was camouflaged by tricks of statistics; the Jews, for instance, were counted as Poles, thus increasing the number of the latter in the census of 1910 by more than 800 000; another paper trick was played on Roman Catholic Ukrainians, who had mostly been converted in the course of recent years by cunning and force from the Greek Catholic United Faith to Roman (in Poland synonymous with Polish) Catholicism. Although they spoke no Polish and had otherwise the same interests as other Ukrainians, most of them were

162 listed as Poles, thus increasing the number of the latter by
563 almost half a million.

Every decade more and more united Catholics who were known to be of Ukrainian nationality were entered as Poles. In 1910 there were already 235 328 such "Greek Catholic Poles"; in 1921 there were 359 000 till the number of such Poles amounted to almost half a million. This explains what would otherwise be inexplicable: that the number of Ukrainians should have decreased from 4 880 312 in 1910 to 3873 223 in 1921, i. e. by 1 006 599, while in the same period the number of Poles is alleged to have risen from 15 319 734 (1910) to 18 820 163, i. e. by 3 500 429. As this was not sufficient to justify Poland's existence as a Great Power, the special group of „natives" was introduced, which was put down tentatively in 1921 as 41 000 and then, quite brazenly in 1931 as 707 000 (i. e. 2.2 % of the entire population of Poland, these being mostly Polesian Ukrainians). In addition to these tricks of statistics, a frank campaign of denationalisation was launched after the First World War by Poland with the support of the Roman Catholic Church. The following table shows how things developed:

Year	Greek Catholic	Roman Catholic
1869	64.2 %	21.84 %
1900	62.8 %	23.51 %
1910	61.7 %	25.31 %
1921	60.8 %	27.80 %
1931	60.1 %	28.50 %

This was the origin of the legend that Eastern Galicia was a country of mixed population to which Poland had a right, having contributed her share to the native population.

It is well known that Jews are aliens in Ukraine, and that they only appeared in Galicia in the wake of the Poles. Thanks to Polish support, the number of Jews in Ukraine has been almost doubled; it rose from 6.9 % to 12.8 % (1910).

In spite of political influences, the minorities have never succeeded in settling on areas of any extent. They are more strongly represented on the periphery and it is only in manufacturing towns that we find them in greater numbers living together. Of the 40 422 places in Soviet Ukraine, for

instance 36 569, or 90.1 % were Ukrainian according to the 162
statistics of 1925 and only 1769 or 4.5 % predominantly Russian, 563
1043 or 2.8 % predominantly German, 407 or 1.0 % predominantly Polish and about 200 predominantly Jewish (0.5 %) and 148 (0.4 %) predominantly Moldavian.

Circumstances are similar in the so-called „mixed“ Eastern Galicia; according to official statistics before World War I there were 3298 village communities, i. e. 88.7 % with a Ukrainian majority and scarcely 436 places (11.6 %) with a majority of Poles or other nationals.

The Russian Minority

Russians form the largest minority on Ukrainian territory. It is true that the Russian population has been slowly decreasing, but probably it still amounts to-day to 5 000 000 i. e. a little less than 10 % of the entire population. According to the calculation of the Ukrainian Bureau for Statistics and Economics for 1933, the Russian minority in Central Ukraine amounted to 4 615 000 = 9.7 % and over the entire territory (including mixed zones) to 8 074 000 = 15 %. The number of Russians has decreased most in Soviet Ukraine, amounting to 2 677 200 or 9.2 % of the entire population in 1926. There are no Russians either in Galicia or Carpatho-Ukraine and in Bucovina less than 3 000. In North-West Ukraine, too, they scarcely ever amount to more than 2 % of the entire population and occur only in scattered groups in the towns of Volynia, Polesya and the Kholm District.

It is surprising that the percentage of Russians should be so low just on the ethnographical frontiers of Russia. These frontier areas of North Ukraine, Volynia, Podolia, and the former departments of Chernyhiv and Poltava are purely Ukrainian with a very small Russian population amounting to between 0.3 % — 1 %. The proportion of Russians in the entire Right Bank population amounts only to 2.6 % (in country districts alone, even to 0.7 % only).

North-West Ukraine and the colonised areas of Northern Caucasia, on the other hand, are mixed regions where Russians and Ukrainians are rivals for supremacy. In the eastern foothills

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of Ukrainian Northern Caucasia the proportion is 57.3 % Russians to 33.4 % Ukrainians; some places, too, in the Donets Basin are to be regarded as areas of Russian colonisation. But even here, in spite of official support, the Russians only count 31.4 % of the entire population and, in the towns, are constantly making way for more Ukrainians so that towns that used to be predominantly Russian had, in 1926 even, no more than 48.9 % Russians.

The proportion of Russians in the population south of Kursk and Voronesh and in the surroundings of Kharkiv is relatively large. It dates from the early 18th century and is supported by the Russian population in Kharkiv (37 %). The average figure for the Russian population of these areas amounts to 22.5 % of the entire population.

In spite of a considerable Russian population in the harbor towns, Ukrainians contribute largely to the population of the area round the Sea of Oziv and the Black Sea. It is true that there are still 663 000 Russians, but they are everywhere in the minority.

Proportion of Russians in Population

Rayon	general (%)	urban (%)	rural (%)
Melitopil	25.0	39.7	24.0
Odessa	23.3	38.1	8.2
Mariupil	18.5	46.7	10.6
Mykolajiv	15.7	39.5	9.9
Kherson	11.4	31.0	7.7
Autonomous Republic of Moldavia	8.5	23.3	6.5

In the industrial districts of the West (Kryvyj Rih, Zaporizha, and Dnipropetrovske), the proportion of Russians scarcely reached the figure for the entire Ukraine — it amounts to 8.9 % (25.1 % in the towns, 5 % in the country).

From the above it is obvious that the Russian population is greatest in large towns and industrial and mining areas. But the statement that the towns in Eastern Ukraine have a Russian majority must not be repeated for it was no longer true even

in the second half of the 19th century. Even in those days the 162
proportion of Ukrainians in the larger towns (with the exception 563
of government capitals) amounted to 40.5 % (compared with 29.2 % Russians and 25.6 % Jews) and in the smaller towns to 52.4 % (compared with 21.8 % Russians and 21.0 % Jews). The total urban population in the Gouvernments of Chernyhiv, Poltava and Kharkiv had then a Ukrainian majority, while the Ukrainians were relatively in the majority in the towns in the Gouvernment of Katerynoslav.

This development has been continued. The census of 1925 produced even more favorable results: in the towns there were then 38.49 % Ukrainians, 29.4 % Jews, 27.22 % Russians, and 2.03 % Poles. 14 towns show a considerable majority of Ukrainians (up to 92.33 %); in 14 more the Ukrainians were relatively the strongest national group. The proportion of Ukrainians in the south also increased astonishingly, as may be seen from the figures for the harbor town of Mykolajiv (1897 = 8.8 %, 1923 = 17.5 % Ukrainians) or for Kherson (1897 = 19.5 %, 1920 = 40.4 %).

Jews

Before World War I there were 3 795 760 Jews, i. e. 8.2 % of the entire population of Ukraine. They were massed in the provinces that used to be Polish and were later Austro-Hungarian and also in the northern districts of the Right Bank Ukraine, in Volynia and Podolia where, at that time, they contributed 12.2—12.6 % of the entire population. There are most Jews in the east of Carpatho-Ukraine (more than 25 %), in the Kholm district (on an average 15.3 %), in the districts of Berdychiv (23.1 %), Odessa (22 %), Chernivtsi (21.4 %), Brest-Litovsk (20.8 %) and Pinsk (19.5 %). On the right bank of the Dnipro the Jewish share in the population was considerably smaller while on the left bank where Jews were forbidden to settle until the great Revolution, it was quite small; with the exception of Kharkiv it varied from 2—3 %.

The Jews lived for preference in the towns; in the country they were scattered as shop-keepers, inn-keepers, tenant farmers and artisans. But there were also a good number of towns where

162 the Jewish population was insignificant (e. g. Dmytrievsko
563 0.5 %, Vovchansk 1.1 %, Okhtyrka 1.3 %, Melitopil 3.4 %, Kamenske 4.1 %, Slovanske 4.4 %, Bila Tserkva 5.5 %, Berdiansk 8.1 %). Among the larger towns Stalino had 10.7 %, Kharkiv 19.5 % and Mykolajiv 21 % Jews.

For some time the number of Jews has been decreasing, partly as a result of emigration and partly because of the shifting of the peasant population. At the beginning of World War II there were probably about 2.5 million Jews. The last eight years have brought about a complete change and not even approximate figures can be given.

Poles

Official statistics list the Poles as third of the minorities in Ukraine. In 1914 they were responsible for 2 079 500 souls i. e. 4.5 % of the entire Ukrainian population. Of these 1 270 400 = 21.8 % were in Austrian and more than 809 000 = 2 % in Russian Ukraine (including the Kholm district and Volynia). At the outbreak of World War II there must have been 1 880 934 Poles (= 3.6 % of the entire population) on the Ukrainian ethnographical territory (1 608 900 in Poland, 246 034 in Soviet Ukraine and approximately 25 000 in Roumania). In the areas belonging to Poland they form about 18 % of the entire population and are more concentrated only in Lviv and the larger towns. In the foothills of the Carpathians, south of the Dnister, in spite of the vicinity of the ethnographical frontier, there were relatively few Poles (less than 5 % on the average in the west and less than 10 % in the east). Circumstances in Polessya and Volynia are similar. Nor have the towns in Western Ukraine a majority of Poles; in Lviv about half the population are Poles. In 1931 in all the towns in Eastern Galicia there were 26.9 % Ukrainians, in the administration area of Stanislaviv 33.8 % and in Podlakhia and Polesya 31.2 % and 31.64 respectively. In Eastern Ukraine there were 476 435 = 1.6 % Poles in 1926. They lived scattered only in 12 rayons of the Right Bank Ukraine, in Volynia and Podolia and, with the exception of Zhytomir (12.5 %) and Proskuriv (10.2 %) they accounted for less than 5 % of the entire population. 48.4 % of these

"Poles" listed Ukrainian as their mother-tongue (56.7 % even in the country), while 7 % spoke Russian.

Germans

The Germans, who cannot be very numerous in Ukraine today, amounted in 1914 to 871 270 souls = 1.9 % of the entire population. They lived mostly in three compact colonies (area round Black Sea, Kholm district, Volynia and Carpathian foothills). By 1935 they had decreased to 693 000 = 1.2 % of the entire population. In the Black Sea area they had an absolute majority in the rayons of Grossliebenthal, K. Liebknecht, Luxemburg, Prishib, Engels, Vysokopolje and Molotshna. Germans were settled in 12 of the 41 rayons of Soviet Ukraine. Most Germans lived in the country; there were communities of several thousand Germans in Odessa, Kyiv, Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovske, Zaporizha and Mykolajiv.

Other minorities

The 460 000 Roumanians are to be found chiefly in the Moldavian Republic (0.89 %) where, however, they only constitute 30.1 % of the entire population (compared with 48.5 % Ukrainians). Otherwise Roumanians live in Bucovina and in the Bessarabian areas of Akkerman and Khotin.

The 160 000 Greeks live mostly in Mariupil and Stavropil.

The Ukrainian Press

Beginnings of the Ukrainian Press:

I. In foreign languages:

When published	Name	Where published	Kind
1776	Gazette de Léopol	Lviv	Items of news in French
1803	Militärische Zeitschrift	Lviv	Military paper in German
1812	Kharkowskij Jezhegodnik	Kharkiv	Russian paper
1816-1819	Ukrainskij Viestnik	Kharkiv	Russian paper with Ukrainian contributions
1844	Dramatisches Unterhaltungsblatt	Eperjes	Literary paper in German
1848	Bucovina	Chernivtsi	Paper in Roumanian and German

II. In Ukrainian:

When published	Name	Where published	Kind
1848-1857	Zorja Halytska (Galician Star)		Daily
1850-1866	Vistnyk dla Rusyniw (News for Ukr.)	Vienna	Official publications of Austro-Hungarian authorities
1849-1858 1872-1918	Vistnyk Zakoniw (Code of laws)	Vienna	Official publications of Austro-Hungarian authorities

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When published	Name	Where published	Kind
1849 and seq.	Vseobshchyj Dnewnyk	Lviv	Official organ foı Galicia
1890-1918	Narodna Chasopys (Popular paper)	Lviv	
1850	Vistnyk (News)	Chernivtsi	Official organ for Bucovina
1850	Krajewyj Vistnyk		For the Ukrainians in Hungary

A small but influential Ukrainian press grew in the second half of the 19th century from modest beginnings which were largely official. (see preceding table). This press dealt at first only with questions of national politics and of literature, but in time grew more and more specialised. The most important newspaper at that time is the "Dilo" (Deed), a Lviv daily which, since its foundation in 1882, exercised great influence on the trend of national politics in West Ukraine, and for some time even throughout Ukraine, while the "Batjkivshchyna" (Mother-country) 1879—1896, a popular paper, which has appeared since 1897 under the name of "Svoboda" (Liberty), undertook to enlighten and influence the masses. The following are also worth mentioning: the radical papers "Narod" (The People) 1890—1895, "Hromadskyj Holos" (The Voice of the Community) since 1895, and "Zhyttja i Slovo" (Life and Word) 1894—1897 which, in the hands of journalists like M. Drahomaniv and I. Franko have done much to quicken Ukrainian life and open it to European influence.

Literary and scientific reviews, under capable editors, with national Ukrainian views, played an important part in the intellectual life of the country, developing very quickly from local publications in West Ukraine to become the main organs of public opinion throughout the country. The best of these were the "Pravda" (Truth) 1867—1898 and the "Zorja" (Star) 1880—1897 which, since 1898, has appeared under the name of "Literaturno-Naukovyj Vistnyk" (News from Literature and

204 Learning); its editors were Prof. M. Hrushevskyj, Dr. I. Franko and V. Hnatjuk, and it counted the most eminent writers in West and East Ukraine among its contributors.

After the beginnings of the East Ukraine press, "Osnova" (Intellectual Basis) 1861—1862, had been suppressed by the Imperialist Russian Government, and after all writings in Ukrainian had been forbidden by the Russian Home Minister Valujev in 1863 and by the edict of 1876, the press in West Ukraine became the voice for the entire nation. At that time the Ukrainian press consisted of 44 papers published in Austro-Hungary and in America; all political and scientific publications in Russia had to appear in Russian as the official language while Ukrainian (with official Russian spelling) might only by employed for subjects of folk-lorist or historical interest.

It was only after the Revolution of 1905 that papers could once more be published in Ukraine: on November 12th the "Khliborob" (Peasant), a national Ukrainian paper in Lubni, followed on November 24th by "Ridnyj Kraj" (Native Country), and then the most important paper in East Ukraine, the "Hromadska Dumka" (Ideas of the Community), which corresponded to the Lviv "Dilo" (Deed), which after the Revolution was replaced by the daily "Rada" (Council).

In a short time there were about 70 newspapers and journals in East Ukraine, some of which could hold their own in spite of the reaction which soon set in. At the same time the number of publications in West Ukraine was greatly increased and, before World War I, had reached the total of 80 in Austro-Hungary, 14 outside of Ukraine, 14 in USA, 10 in Canada, and 2 in Brazil.

This promising development collapsed when the First World War broke out. The government put a veto on papers in East Ukraine while Russian Military authorities suppressed those in West Ukraine. The "Dilo" and the "Ukrainske Slovo" (Ukrainian Word) and "Bucovina" (since 1885 in Chernivtsi) removed to Vienna.

The third epoch in the modern history of the Ukrainian press began with the revolution of 1917. In this year there were no fewer than 172 Ukrainian papers and in the following year this number increased to 258. The East Ukraine press disappeared with the rapid decline of Ukraine's independence and its place was taken by a communist press. In West Ukraine a struggle began with Polish and Roumanian authorities and with the censorship, with the result that many newspaper enterprises emigrated.

Official statistics give the number of Ukrainian publications in Soviet-Ukraine in 1933 as 1780 and 1494 in the middle of 1935. Among these, it is true, there are many single sheet publications to be affixed like notices or distributed and also many papers belonging to special businesses. The number of newspapers proper was 539 (23 district papers, 16 municipal and about 500 publications for the rayons). More than 80 % (465 publications) were written in Ukrainian, the remainder in the languages of the minorities: in Russian, Polish, German, and Moldavian.

Two papers published in Kyiv are reckoned to be the most important organs of the Soviet Ukrainian press, viz. the "Communist" (with a circulation of 305 000) and "Visty" (News) with a circulation of 375 000 which correspond to the Moscow "Pravda" (Truth) and "Izvestija" (News) as far as contents and technique are concerned. We might also mention the Kharkiv "Comsomolets Ukrajiny" (Comsomolets-member of the Soviet youth organisation) and "Robitnycha Gazeta" (Workers' Newspaper), "Proletar" (Proletarian) and the Kyiv papers, the "Proletarska Pravda" (Truth of the Proletariate) and "Bolshevik". The entire circulation of the Soviet Ukrainian press was somewhere between 3¾ and 5 millions and the chief centers of publication were Kyiv, Kharkiv, and Odessa.

In spite of all difficulties the press in West Ukraine continued to thrive as may be seen from the following table:

Land	Number in 1934	1936	
Poland	122	143	
Czechoslovakia	16	23	
Roumania	10	10	
total	148	176	publications

204 About the half of all papers in West Ukraine (88 or 50.58 %) appeared in Lviv, 13 in Uzhhorod, 10 in Kolomea, 10 in Chernivtsi, 9 in Lutsk, 7 in Stanislaviv and 7 in Munkach. The most important Ukr. newspapers, published in 1939 in West Ukraine, are: "Dilo", (Deed), "Novyj Chas" (New Times), "Ukrajinski Visty" (Ukrainian News) in Lviv, "Chas" (Times) in Chernivtsi and "Nova Svoboda" (New Freedom) in Uzhhorod.

The Ukrainian press for emigrants increased considerably (1934 = 76; 1936 = 110). The figures for 1939 were: 17 in the so-called Protectorate, 12 in Poland, 10 in France, 7 in Germany, and 1 each in Leningrad, Moscow, and Saratow, 3 in Jugoslavia, 2 in England, 1 in Austria, 3 in the Far East, 2 in Manchukuo, 24 in USA, 18 in Canada, 4 in Argentine, 4 in Brazi.

Among the most important of these are: 1) "Svoboda" (Freedom) — New Jersey City since 1893. 2) "America" – Philadelphia since 1886. 3) "Ukrajinski Shchodenni Visty" (Ukrainian Daily News) — communist daily New York. 4) "Ukrajinskyj Holos" (Ukrainian Voice) — Winnipeg, Canada. 5) "Kanadyjskyj Farmer" (Canadian Farmer) — Winnipeg, Ukrainian Toiler (Toronto). 6) "Narodnja Gazeta" (Native Paper) — communist, Winnipeg. The circulation of Ukrainian papers outside of Ukraine amounts to about 1 000 000; but the papers are actually read by ten times as many people.

Causes and Effects of Emigration

About 6 millions (= 15 %) of the 45 million Ukrainians live outside of Ukrainian territory proper in Europe, Asia, and America. 650 000 live in the thinly populated Volga areas in Europe, and 3 millions in Western Siberia and the Far East, while there are fairly large settlements in Canada (Alberta, Sascatchewan, Manitoba) that count about 400 000 Ukrainians. By this modern colonisation in the 19th and 20th centuries, the Ukrainian people has once more given proof of its talent for colonising, a talent that had been displayed with great success in earlier times when South Ukraine was settled. Since 1881 in particular when the Russian government removed restrictions from emigration, there has been a lively increase in Ukrainian colonisation; at this time movements began to build up and protect lines of communication between the center of Ukraine and the area round Rostov. Colonisation of the Volga Valley became more intense; the number of Ukrainians settled there is estimated to-day at 1 million while the Ukrainian contribution to the eastern area of North Caucasia amounts to 33.4 % (of a total population of 3 638 000).

Towards the end of the eighties movements of emigration to Siberia set in, the Russian Government under General Unterberger, Governor of the Amur district (1888—1897) being in favor of Ukrainian emigration to the Far East for reasons of military policy. The efforts of the government were supported by the Trans-Siberian Railway which offered reduced fares and other facilities. The colonisation movement reached its height after the Russo-Japanese War and the unrest among peasants in 1902; the Russian Government seized the opportunity of getting rid of unruly subjects and at the same time of strengthening its own position in Asia. Up till then most of the colonists in Asia came from Central Russia (48 %); now the scales are turned and Central Russia contributed only 32 % while 48 % came from Ukraine, and the remainder from other parts of the Empire.

Before Stolypin's Agrarian Reform (1906—1910) some 40—50 000 Ukrainians left their homes every year; after the Reform the number rose to 250 000 and in 1909 reached the record figure of 290 000, i. e. about 68 % of the natural increase of the Ukrainian population. The table below gives figures for emigration:

Year	Number of emigrants	Ukrainians	%
1890—1900	1 078 000	366 448	34
1900—1910	2 257 000	1 197 463	53
1911—1914	696 000	410 600	60.3

Alone the Far East counted about 510 000 immigrants from Ukraine in the years from 1883 up till 1928.

Most emigrants came from the Left Bank area although the Right Bank was much more densely populated and was at the same time poorer, as regards soil. 75 % of the emigrants from 1891—1900 came from the three gouvernements of Chernyhiv, Poltava and Kharkiv alone. Of the inhabitants of Siberia born in Europe, 48.6 % in the Far East, 46.6 % in Kasakstan and Kirghiz, 22 % in Siberia proper and 11.6 % of the population in the other areas were born in Soviet Ukraine. (Census of 1926). The figures in Russian statistics are, moreover, too low all over; according to careful estimations by natives 33 % of the Siberian population = 3—3.5 millions are of Ukrainian origin. Ukraine has therefore a great interest in the Russian areas that lie in Asia, all the more as the land they have colonised is much more valuable as regards economy, transportation and political development than the rest of the country that has been colonised by Russians or than the very sparsely populated areas of Siberia. The Ukrainians avoided the forests and deserts that attracted Russians and selected steppe areas as far as the river Irtysh, i. e. the fertile loess land along the Trans-Siberian Railway that is a continuation of their native Black Earth. Finally, they liked to settle in groups, often as villages, so that we find large, continuous areas that are wholly Ukrainian in character. About 67 % of all Ukrainians who have emigrated to Asia are settled on the so-called "Grey Wedge" already mentioned which adjoins the European area of the Ural and the Volga. No more than 15 % are scattered throughout the endless spaces in the North, East, and Center of Siberia.

The first mentioned area colonised by Ukrainians consists of a strip about 2 000 km long and 100—400 km broad, south of the Trans-Siberian Railway from Omsk via Petropavlovsk as far as Slavhorod, the administration extending over considerable parts of Kasakstan and some districts of Western Siberia, marching in the south along the Afghanistan frontier in Kirghiz and in the Syr-Darja section of Kasakstan at Aulie-Ata and Alma-Ata with numerically smaller centers of Ukrainian colonisation. Here, over a large area of 450 000 sq. kilometres the Ukrainians are relatively in the majority while the Russians come only third, after the Kazaks.

There are, however, other isolated areas with a large Ukrainian majority. Fourteen of the twenty-seven rayons in the Aktyubinsk area for instance, have a Ukrainian majority (78.91 % on the average), in the district of Rustakov of 26—13; the population of the entire district is composed of 41.3 % Ukrainians, 31.7 % Kazaks and 21.2 % Russians. Similar circumstances prevail in the area of Syr-Darja and in Western Siberia, for example at Omsk where 60 % Ukrainians live with 25 % Russians; here, too, there are five Ukrainian rayons whose names are derived from the old country, viz. Pavlohrad (81.2 % Ukrainians), Poltava (73.1 %), Odessa (63.4 %), Taurien (58.4 %) and Ural (52.4 %). Throughout the district of Slavhorod the Ukrainians, with 46.8 % of the population are relatively in the majority, while in the more limited area they represent even the absolute majority of 56 % as compared with 33 % Russians.

Another large center of Ukrainian colonisation lies in the Far East in the river basin of the Amur and Ussuri: here, official statistics for 1926 give for a large area of 1 400 000 square kilometres with an entire population of 1 256 292 an official Ukrainian population of 315 203, in reality approximately 600 000 Ukrainians (48 % of the entire population) as compared with 205 000 Russians (16 %), 166 000 Koreans (13 %), 125 000 Kazaks (10 %), 5 % Chinese and 3 % White Ruthenians. The entire Far East, (including Transbaikalia), although four times bigger, still had 612 217 Ukrainians i. e. 25.43 % of its entire population of almost 2.5 millions.

In this area Ukrainians live mostly in districts on the frontier between Korea and Manchukuo, round the towns of Spask and Khabarovsk on the river Amur and also near Vladivostok and Blagovishchensk and reaching as far as Kharbin in Manchukuo. In these districts the national feeling was definitely Ukrainian which was not without influence on political life during the revolution of 1917—1921; for this feeling managed to express itself and to get special state agencies for Ukrainian affairs erected.

World War I, the revolution and the post-war years caused at first a complete stoppage of emigration; but in the years 1924—1927 173 000 people emigrated from the Soviet Ukraine (8.5 % of the natural increase). The nationalisation of the soil, the collectivisation of landed property, the complete impoverishment of the peasantry and the impossibility of free emigration have created a situation the consequences of which we have no means of judging and of which we know little.

Emigration from Ukrainian territory in Austro-Hungary developed along different lines. Here there was no land free for immigrants: moreover the peasants were far too poor to take part in any big scheme of colonisation. In the 18th century some thousand of peasants were transferred to the Bachka and Slavonia where about 20 000 of them still live to-day, in particular near Ruski Kerestur, having preserved their national language and habits. In the eighteen-nineties some 10 000 Ukrainian peasants from Galicia were settled at Prnjavor and Banjaluka and they, too, regard themselves as Ukrainians to-day. In view of the great increase in population and the consequent splitting up of family holdings, such attempts at colonisation naturally mean little. Almost half of the holdings in Galicia are no bigger than 2 ha; in addition to economic pressure, caused by dividing large Polish estates among new Polish settlers, political pressure was also increased, so that the position of the Ukrainian peasant became desperate. This was the origin of emigration overseas.

Emigration to the New World had already set in sporadically in the sixties among the Lemki and the Ukrainians in the

Carpathians, who had tried to find a living in North America. They were followed in 1867 by Russian Ukrainians who settled in Alaska and by some families from Eastern Galicia and the victims of religious persecution in Russia. Once the favorable conditions for Canadian immigrants were known, many more left the Bucovina and Eastern Galicia; but a real fever of emigration was only occasioned when foreign agents opened a campaign for South America with the result that 26 % of the natural increase left the home country in the last decade of the 19th century, and from 35—45 % in the following decade, although South American conditions were not at all suitable for Ukrainians. Hundreds of thousands rushed out of the country in those days, thereby making it possible for the Poles to settle their own nationals in Eastern Galicia, fertile Podolia and elsewhere. It was a blessing that this wild emigration did not last; Ukrainian organisations managed to reduce the movement to some kind of order and to steer colonists away from South America to Canada.

At the same time emigration for the season to Germany was organised, a habit that had brought employment in Europe to unemployed and poor peasants. In the years 1907/8—1911/12 this movement comprised more than 75 000 persons a year and reached over 100 000 directly before World War I. Smaller groups went to Bohemia, Roumania and Denmark, even to France, Belgium and England.

After the war both of these opportunities became more restricted, if not completely blocked. America and Canada began to demand so much from their colonists that many turned again to South America. Seasonal emigration to Germany had been forbidden by the Poles and was now mainly directed to France where, before the economic crisis of 1931, it accounted for more than 250 000 people. At the same time a considerable number of Ukrainians began to return home as may be seen from the following table which represents emigration from Poland, Roumania and Czechoslovakia in the years 1919—1935:

Countries	emigration	returning emigrants	balaince
including			
European countries	74 000	35 000	39 000
Overseas i. e.	146 000	15 000	131 000
United States	13 000	2 000	11 000
Canada	73 000	6 000	67 000
Argentine	47 000	5 000	42 000
Brazil	8 000	1 000	7 000
total	220 000	50 000	170 000

In those days most emigrants came from Eastern Galicia; from here and from the Kholm district they went to America or as seasonal laborers to France, from Volynia and Polesya to America, while Ukrainians from Roumania settled in Canada only. In the years 1920—1934 23 300 persons emigrated from the Carpatho-Ukraine, of whom 15 100 (65 %) were Ukrainians, 4 100 (17.5 %) Jews, 2 400 (14.7 %) Magyars and 600 (2.7 %) others.

Most Ukrainian emigrants to America went to the United States; from Galicia alone more than 300 000 Ukrainians went there in the years 1900—1919; and about the same number left Ukrainian territory in Austria-Hungary. At present about 750 000—800 000 Ukrainians live in the United States, mainly in the East, in New York and Jersey City, Philadelphia, Chicago, Pittsburg, Detroit and Cleveland, most of them being employed in the professions, and as miners, factory hands, artisans and businessmen in a small way. The most important Ukrainian organisations, unions and papers are in New York, Chicago and Philadelphia. In Jersey City the "Svoboda" (Liberty) — 40 000 subscribers — the largest Ukrainian daily in America, is published and in Philadelphia the "Ameryka", the most important organ of the Ukrainian Greek Catholics. Ukrainians are also found in smaller places as agricultural settlers and, particularly in the West, form fairly compact "islands" which even have Ukrainian names. In Dakota, for instance, there is a place called Ukraina and in Olyphant Pa the Ukrainians have a burgermeister of their own and their own municipal administration.

Ukrainians in North America are particularly well organised and have their own cultural and economic organisations amounting to several thousands which are mostly amalgamated in a "Union of Ukrainian Organisations" (Objednannja) in Philadelphia. They are above all fortunate in the excellent organisation of insurance and welfare enterprises, of which practically all Ukrainians, including children, are members. The Ukrainians from Hungary are best organised, their central organisation, the "Soedinenie" (Union), amounting to about 160 000.

Other important central organisations of Ukrainians are listed below:

Name	Founded	Number of members	Property in dollars
Ukrajinskyj Narodnyj Sojus (Jersey City) Ukrainian National Association	1894	33 468	3 256 206
Ukrajinskyj Robitnychyj Sojus (Scranton) Ukrainian Workers' Association	1910	15 958	1 549 904
Provydinnja (Philadelphia) Guidance	1912	15 278	635 084
Ukrajinska Narodnja Pomich (Pittsburg) Ukrainian Welfare Organisation	1915	9 000	250 000
Zhoda Bratstv (Olyphant) United Brethren	—	2 000	—

Most Ukrainians in America belong to the Greek Catholic United Church and have two sees, one for immigrants from Austria (126 churches with a membership of 244 118) and another for Hungarian Ukrainians (175 churches with a membership of 309 04[illegible]). Orthodox Ukrainians have been organised in two special churches and have 63 parish offices and 57 churches. There is also a Ukrainian Protestant Church.

Canada comes next as a goal of emigration for the Ukrainians. According to official Canadian statistics of 1941, 305 929 Ukrainians are now living in Canada. But this number represents only about half of the Ukrainian settlers, as they are often

167 listed according to their land of origin, i. e. as Austrians, Hungarians, Galicians, Poles, Russians etc. A careful estimate puts them at more than 400 000 which is almost 3 % of the entire population of Canada (11 506 655). In Canada they rank fourth after settlers from England, France and Germany and are concentrated mainly in the three western provinces of Manitoba, Saskachewan and Alberta, where they live in groups in large areas, so that they can make their influence felt in politics and also lead their own cultural life. They have made great progress in Canada in the course of time and have a good reputation as excellent colonists, as may be seen in the article by Prof. Phillippovich, a well known Austro-Hungarian political economist who wrote when the emigration movement was still young (1905): "What makes their presence of particular importance is their readiness to do work that is open to everybody in a new country, and that is the hardest to do, namely ordinary unskilled labor and personal service. The Ruthenian (Ukrainian) girls have a great reputation as domestic servants throughout the West. The agent general for colonisation told me that he has known little personal comfort after his Ruthenian maid left his home. And the Ruthenians (Ukrainians) build railways and roads. And when they have earned enough to be able to settle on a holding, then they work the stiffest soil with an industry and perseverance that wins the greatest respect. We reckon them among our most successful settlers, as the Vice-Minister of the Interior wrote me, a verdict which, as an impartial observer, I have heard confirmed by English officials. Our poor, despised, or at best ignored Ruthenians have come to their own there. The colonist's work is difficult and full of hardships and their simple tastes and physical endurance are valuable guarantees of success . . . But their personality grows with success. The same people finally become owners of what is for us a large farm, which they work with machines, and on which they can call dozens of cattle herds their own. They become shrewd men of business and learn to manage things like men of commercial experience."

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RD1 Ukraine RD1

The Ukrainians and the Anglo-Saxon World

It is sad but true that the Ukrainians and the Anglo-Saxon 175
world have never developed through the centuries that close and 648
constant relationship which has existed in the case of so many other peoples. There have been moments of contact but these have never lasted and did not until the present time result in a steady stream of interest. — Yet this unfortunate fact has been due rather to the history of the two peoples and to their geographical locations than to any deliberate neglect on either part. The Anglo-Saxon race, taking its rise from England, an island on the northwestern coast of Europe, was chiefly concerned with areas that it could reach by sea. During its long centuries of oppression, Ukraine was completely landlocked. It was cut off from the Black Sea by the Tatars. It was hemmed in on the north and east by Moscow and on the west where it formed part of the Polish-Lithuanian state, there was little encouragement for foreigners to travel to it.

It is interesting, however, that in all of the periods when Ukraine was playing an important rôle in European affairs, knowledge of it reached England, but almost invariably it was by means more or less connected with the sea.

Let us look first at the Kyiv period, when Kyiv was one of the great capitals of Christian Europe and when it far surpassed in wealth and culture any of the western capitals. At this period the bonds between Kyiv-Rus and Scandinavia were close. Even Volodymyr after the death of his father Svyatoslav was obliged to retire to Scandinavia and return with Varangian troops before he could establish himself on the throne. It was the same period when England was being ruled by King Canute the Dane. The Northmen, sailing back and forth across the North Sea, could not fail to carry news of the exploits of their Varangian cousins. A little later one of the daughters of Yaroslav was married to King Harold Hardraga, the King of Norway, who was later to fall in 1066 at the battle of Stamford Bridge only a few days before his conqueror King Harold II, the last Saxon King of England, was destined to fall before William of Normandy at Hastings. Later a daughter of Harold married Volodymyr Mono-

175 makh. Thus by the nature of events, during this period when
648 both England and Ukraine were connected with the Scandinavian north, the court of Kyiv became well-known to English and especially Saxon nobles fleeing from their enemies in their own land. It brought about a personal acquaintance which had no deep roots and which ended with the disintegration of Kyiv and the absorption of England into the area of the Norman influence.

Nevertheless there was established at Kyiv a Scotch Benedictine Monastery in the eleventh century which continued until the Mongol invasion. It would be interesting to know whether this was a purely missionary establishment in the hope of introducing the western traditions into Kyiv or whether the monks had fled from the Norman conquest and the border disturbances, since at that time the King of Scotland was connected by marriage with the Saxon royal family and strove in vain to assist them against the new conquerors. At all events their residence in Kyiv was marked by signs of close friendship between them and the clergy and population of Kyiv.

After the Tatar conquest, we find that the Metropolitan Ruthenus Petrus, the Ruthenian Metropolitan Peter, was present at the First Council of Lyons in 1245. He had been installed as Metropolitan of Kyiv about 1242 with the aid of the patriotic groups, especially Prince Mykhajlo of Chernyhiv, who was later martyred by the Tatars. It is interesting that his presence at the Council in an attempt to secure the aid of the West has been recorded only by two English chroniclers of the Council, a fact that suggests some personal friendship which had perhaps been formed at Lyons.

Then came the Middle Ages, the period of the Crusades, and the constant wars of England and France. It was a period, in Ukraine, when there was not much to attract foreigners. The English were finding themselves on the sea and their sailors appeared quite frequently in Baltic ports and in the White Sea, but the latter were in far closer relations with Moscow than with Ukraine, especially as the Muscovites completely ignored the Ukrainian Orthodox at this period.

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As we might expect, it was the exploits of the Cossacks that reawakened interest and this time the English inspiration to learn more of the Ukrainians was largely derived from their relations with Constantinople. It was the sea-raids of the Cossacks that won their attention and the importance of these were stressed by the Patriarch Cyril Loukaris, who was very familiar with the situation in Ukraine. As a young man, the nephew of the then acting Patriarch, he had taught in Wilno. He was a friend of Count Constantin Ostrozhskyj and he was present at the Council at Brest. Ever after he retained his friendship with the leaders of Ukraine, Moldavia, and Vallakhia, and so he remained posted on the progress of the Orthodox in Ukraine and the history of the Cossack movement.

The English ambassador at Constantinople in the early seventeenth century, Thomas Roe, who played an important rôle in the religious conflicts in that city, was a strong supporter and friend of Cyril. He made many reports on the Cossacks and their raids and even attempted to save the life of the Cossack leader Samuil Koretsky, who had been taken prisoner by the Turkish forces, by pleading for him in the name of the King of England. Roe also, as a friend of Prince Gabriel Bethlen of Transylvania, may perhaps have been the author of the plan to unite the Ukrainian Orthodox with the Transylvanian Calvinists and the Swedes for overthrowing Poland during the Thirty Years' War. At the same time Yuryj Nemyrych who was later to succeed in arranging an alliance between Ukraine and Sweden was a student in England.

The revolt of Khmelnytskyj in 1648 was frequently noticed in the English newspapers which compared the Cossacks' leader to Oliver Cromwell. There are constant rumors that there was some correspondence between the two men but this has never been proved, perhaps because of the destruction of many of the documents of the day. It is, however, said that the radical Cossack leader who played an important rôle during part of the period, Maksym Kryvonos, Maxim of the Crooked Nose, was a Scotsman. He appears and disappears mysteriously in the course of the Cossack movement. He was far more bitter in his hatred than Khmelnytskyj and it is perhaps conceivable that

175 he was a fanatic Protestant who had come to the Cossacks to
648 stir them up to increased and unreasoning bitterness.

During the years after the Cossack uprising, several Englishmen who were either in Poland or in Russia made lengthy reports on the life of the Cossacks, but the next important event in Ukrainian history, the revolt of Mazeppa, again aroused considerable interest, no less so because Peter the Great in an endeavour to break support for Charles XII of Sweden had apparently at one time thought of making the Duke of Marlborough the master of Ukraine. Nothing of course came of this plan but the English ambassador in Russia, Charles Lord Whitworth, reported on the actions of Mazeppa and the destruction of Baturin by the Muscovite armies.

After the defeat of Charles XII at Poltava, English diplomatic circles joined the Swedes in the effort to stop the advance of Peter the Great against that country. This brought them into contact with Phillip Orlyk, who was elected Hetman after the death of Mazeppa, and who spent years in Sweden and Turkey in an effort to form a coalition against Peter and restore freedom to Ukraine. None of Orlyk's hopes materialised but when he was in Turkey, he had the active support of the British ambassador who put pressure upon the Turks to counterbalance the demands of the Russians that he be surrendered.

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries witnessed the destruction of the political liberties of Ukraine and the general temper of the times tended to accept Ukraine as definitely part of Russia. England's opposition to Russian expansion became more and more felt in Asia and in the Balkans, where Russia was trying to bring under her control the other Orthodox Slavs. It was a period when Western Europe abandoned any hope of securing allies from the oppressed nations of Russia, even though there was a growing interest in the cultures of the different Slav peoples.

Thus by the time of World War I, the British authorities like the Americans were inclined to accept the statements of the Tsarist diplomats that the Ukrainian movement was solely a product of German propaganda and even after the Russian

Revolution, they did not seriously consider the situation which was then presented. At the same time, the French were so interested in the restoration of Poland that they had little inclination to listen to representatives of a people who were in opposition to their friends. 175 648

We thus see that the chief relations between England and Ukraine were to be found in the diplomatic sphere and in the reports of travellers and the works of various professors who were interested in the Slav languages and literatures, while the professors of history in the later periods were inclined to accept the various Russian theories of their own history, which were of course opposed to Ukraine. There was no opportunity for any large-scale personal acquaintance with the Ukrainians or their problems, and in this the Ukrainian situation followed closely the general pattern of British relations with the other countries of Eastern Europe.

Then at the end of the nineteenth century, a new situation arose in the United States and a little later in Canada. There came a relatively large-scale immigration of Ukrainians who settled chiefly in the factory and mining centers of the Eastern United States and the prairie farming regions in Western Canada. Most of these new immigrants came from Western Ukraine which was under the domination of Austria-Hungary as a wave of the great migration of peoples from that area. The difference in their choice of occupations in the United States and Canada was largely due to the difference between the methods adopted by the two countries in dealing with new arrivals. In the United States, they were allowed to find employment as they would and they gravitated to areas where there was already a considerable population of Slavs from Austria-Hungary. In Canada they were encouraged by the government to settle on still unoccupied land in the northwest and were given opportunities for acquiring their own land, as immigrants had been in the United States a half century before. 167

Relatively few of the Ukrainian educated class came to the New World. The vast majority were peasants who hoped in the beginning to acquire the money in a few years to return to their old homes and live there in relative comfort. They were only

167 dimly conscious of their nationality and they were frequently registered by the immigration authorities who were themselves often ill informed as Ruthenians, Russians, Galicians, Austrians and Hungarians. In short they represented exactly that attitude and those classes for whom Ivan Franko was called to do so much preparatory work, before they could become fully conscious of their own value and their own national identity.

During the early years they had to undergo many hardships. Life was strange to them, far stranger than many had expected when they had listened to the tales of returning friends or the siren appeals of the steamship agencies. In communities where they were gathered in some numbers, they were drawn together and for their own protection and assistance, they began to organise along the lines which had been worked out by those nationalities which had preceded them. This process was accelerated, as they began to take root in their new environment and give up their plans for returning home in a few years.

000 Their first organisation were churches, whether of the Byzantine Catholic rite or of the Orthodox. The former had to contend again with the lack of information about them of many of the Roman Catholics who were ill prepared for the arrival of Uniat priests among them, and it was not until 1907 that they secured their first bishop.

The Orthodox came under the influence of the Russian clergy who were pushing southward from the Russian Orthodox mission established in Alaska before its purchase by the United States.

Another valuable instrument for organisation proved to be the fraternal organisation, which as a secular corporation could be organised under American laws for the development of mutual insurance funds and could also provide centres for recreation and for the self-improvement of its members in the broadest sense of the word. The first of these which has passed through several reorganisations and is still the largest is the "Ukrainian National Association" which was founded at Shamokin, Pennsylvania, in 1894. Several other such groups were founded and developed successfully but there is now a marked tendency toward consolidation among them.

000 Thus it was through the churches and the fraternal organisations with their accompanying newspapers as "Svoboda" (Freedom) that the Ukrainians developed a sense of national feeling parallel to that which took place in their homeland and became known to the wider circles of the American public. With each decade they have strengthened themselves financially and have won a stronger position for themselves. The children of the first immigrants have gone to American and Canadian schools and while many of them have neglected the study of the Ukrainian language and are more at home in English, they have come to be the real backbone of the Ukrainian community. In Canada the same process has gone on but the relatively large proportion living on farms and in purely Ukrainian settlements has favored the preservation of the language and there has been produced a larger volume of literature in Ukrainian than in the United States.

The two World Wars rudely interrupted the development of Ukrainian life not only by calling the young men into service but also by making them the victims of propaganda. In World War I, the Austro-Hungarian representatives tried to agitate among them and the Russians endeavoured to spread the belief that the Ukrainian national movement was solely a product of German policy. As there was no outstanding leader among them at the time in the United States, they found it very difficult to gain a proper and sympathetic hearing from the American government and public opinion.

Again before World War II, the Communists launched a drive against all non-communist Ukrainian manifestations and tried to prove that Ukrainians were all fascists and unreliable. They continued this propaganda despite the brilliant military record of the Ukrainians in the American armed forces and the fact that they formed one of the largest groups in the Canadian army.

Despite these attacks and these difficulties, the Ukrainians and their organisations have grown stronger and more important in every way. After the downfall of the Ukrainian National Republic they received the aid of a number of prominent intellectuals who preferred to begin their lives over again in America or Canada rather than to live as exiles in Western Europe or

000 return to Soviet Ukraine. An increasing number of young men and women are coming to the front and are holding increasingly important posts in the political and educational worlds. There can be little doubt that the admission of some of the displaced persons will add new vigor to the cultural movement, even though some of these may be surprised at the changes that have been made by decades of exposure to American and Canadian life.

Ever since World War I attempts have been made to coordinate the work of the various organisations. This has now been achieved in the United States by the Ukrainian Congress Committee and the Ukrainian War Relief and also in the Canadian Ukrainian Committee. Now with the organisation of the Pan-American Ukrainian Conference, similar relations have been established with the Ukrainians in South America.

Thus the Ukrainian contacts with the New World have been almost diametrically opposed to those in England in the past. There the contacts have been almost consistently with the leaders of both peoples. Here there has been a rank and file contact, but this has had the disadvantage of overemphasising the peasant character of the people. Far too many Americans have been content to see the Ukrainians merely as they were when they arrived and have not yet realised the cultural sides of Ukrainian life, although this has been accomplished especially in the field of music and the folkdance. It does, however, offer a firmer basis in the long run, as a growing number of young Ukrainians made their mark on American and Canadian life.

On the whole, the contacts of the Ukrainians and the Anglo-Saxon world throughout the centuries have been friendly and constructive, even if limited in extent. The growing menace of Communism is doing more than anything else to deepen these relations. Slowly but surely the Ukrainian problem is being understood better and better. The process is painfully slow and time is pressing but we can be sure that the hour will come when the Ukrainian people will be understood and appreciated at their true values. Then the task of the Ukrainians will be simplified and they will be accepted as one of the democratic nations of the world in their struggle for freedom, independence and the right to exist and develop in their own way for the welfare of humanity.

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine RDl

II

Economic Life

By the "economy of Ukraine" in the following pages we do not mean the economy of Soviet Ukraine but of the entire Ukrainian territory. It is most difficult to present facts here, as the various sections of Ukrainian territory are not only incorporated in different states but have also varying economic organisations. These difficulties were due primarily to the peculiar character of Soviet statistics. In the statistics for the first two Five Year Plans it is impossible to translate into absolute figures either the real value of the rouble or the percentages given. More entanglements were caused by the inadequacy of data for quantity and quality and the obvious exaggeration of the natural wealth. These factors have been taken into consideration in the following pages. 000

Basic Problems

1. The area of Ukrainian economy

(far more than a million square kilometers) lies spread out like a fan round the north of the Black Sea and the Sea of Oziv. Almost all its rivers flow into this north-east continuation of the Mediterranean, and Ukraine is the only country in Eastern Europe which they serve. The area includes fertile districts, and valuable mineral wealth; the various sections complement each other economically and communications between them are convenient. With a total population of about 60 millions (59 per sq. kilometer as compared with 8, the average for USSR), it approaches European conditions. So the natural, but not the political, conditions for a grand scale economy are given. /31/ /61/

101 The area of Ukrainian economy corresponds to the expansion of the people, i. e. with the compact Ukrainian territory as settled (930 000 sq. km). Yet the frontiers do not quite coincide and the geographical principle cannot be brought into line with the ethnographical. Colonising efforts that even reached the shore of the Pacific must be left out of account, in spite of the Ukrainian population they represent, as must also large enclaves of foreign nations within Ukraine.

On the other hand we must bear those Ukrainian areas in mind where the Ukrainian population, though not yet in the majority, is still increasing (parts of North Caucasia and the Crimea).

487 **2. Ukraine's position in the European system of communications** is fairly central; it is not further from the mouth of the Dnipro to Egypt or Mesopotamia than it is to England, Southwest Germany or Moscow. Ukraine connects the Baltic states with the coasts of the Black Sea, Central Europe with Asia, the lower reaches of the Danube with Russia. Thirty percent (about 2000 out of 6000 km) of the route from Berlin or London to the Caspian Sea and thence to India and Western China lies in Ukrainian territory. In Asia Minor, which is near Ukraine, indeed partly connected with it by water, we find the junctions of important long-distance routes (Berlin-Bagdad; Marseilles-Suez-Indochina or Madagascar etc.).

There are no great natural obstacles to communications; even the ridge of the Carpathians is traversed by eight easy passes. From the point of view of communications, the lack of natural frontiers is a great advantage. The watersheds between the rivers flowing to the Black Sea and those to the Baltic Sea are so narrow, low and flat that it is easy to build short canals across them.

3. The geographical situation of Ukraine as a trade center which is not only a result of its position in the system of European communications, was particularly favorable in the Middle Ages. It was largely determined by the priority of overland and river communications over sea trade routes. In Kyiv the trade route to Byzantium intersected the overland route to the Don which continued to Ityl, the Khazar capital at the mouth 487 of the Volga where two important routes terminated, viz. a caravan road from Bagdad via Khovaresm in the Turkestan of to-day and a road from China via the basin of the Tarim. Communicating routes led via the Pripyat to the Memel and Vistula areas, and via Halych to Hungary or via Cracow to Prague and Regensburg.

But Ukraine forfeited these advantages when Bagdad, Byzantium and Kyiv declined and when the Crusades shifted the main trade routes to the Mediterranean and later when America was discovered and the sea route to India became known. In addition, there were changes in the needs of civilisation; instead of furs, wax and honey, there was now a demand for goods in bulk like grain and timber which had to be transported all too expensively to the West via the Baltic as the Turks blocked the exit to the Mediterranean. The early golden age of Ukraine was the result of favorable trade conditions and it sank when these changed.

4. Black Earth and Granary

The enormous area of 70 million ha black earth produced 433 considerable surplus grain crops. Ukraine became the granary of Europe, but as the structure of the country was wholly agrarian, industry was slow to develop so that towns and industry were flooded by aliens.

Grain was exported in ancient times to Greece and Rome. 439 Grain and cattle were transported from the central Dnipro area to the harbors and markets of Germany. But export trade only began to flourish in earnest when the fertile steppe and the sea coast were re-conquered. Food requirements of European industrial states were supplied from harbors on the Black Sea and the Sea of Oziv; and yet this improvement in geographical trade conditions was no longer the decisive feature in Ukrainian economy.

Ukraine was responsible for 10 % of the world's production of the four European kinds of grain and was therefore among the leading sources. From 1909—1913 its grain exports accounted to 8.6 million roubles, and to more than a fifth of the entire

439 world export of grain; Ukraine played a leading part in the export of wheat, rye and barley (20.21 % and 25 % respectively of the world export).

The bulk of the exports did not go to Russia which drew its supplies from the Volga Basin and the East. Part went to White Ruthenia, Poland and the Baltic, if it was not ear-marked for Central and Western Europe. And Ukrainian cattle were not greatly in demand in the Russian market, which is one reason why cattle-rearing never developed very satisfactorily.

5. The preponderance of foreigners in industry

433 464 was partly due to Ukrainian concentration in agriculture. It is quite true that, at the outset, Ukraine was not interested in mining and industry. On the other hand the Russians, by Nature less bound to the poorer soil on which they had settled, immigrated to mining and industrial areas of Ukraine. This produced dangerous national islands. The work done by Ukrainian laborers in the Donets area was better than in the Ural, even if it did not reach the standards of Central and Western Europe.

471 In Ukraine industry foreigners predominated even more as investors of capital than as laborers, more capital coming from countries abroad than from Russia. Before World War I about 400 million roubles were invested in Dnipro Ukraine alone, where the value of mining and industrial products amounted to 170 million roubles. 95 % of the capital invested in heavy industry was of foreign origin; 80 % of the pig-iron produced in 1913 came from 10 concerns with French capital (out of a total of 16 in the Russia of those days); they represented an investment of more than 112 million roubles. Of the 103 million roubles of French capital invested in coal mines, 82 millions were accounted for by the Donets Basin. Ten of the 12 concerns run with Belgian capital were in Ukraine.

6. Ukraine's relations to Russia as a colony

439 find expression in the economy of Dnipro Ukraine where certain industries were neglected and deprived of funds in favor of Russian areas. And this is no result of a balance between an agrarian and an industrial country for it was not to the North and the East that agricultural produce was exported

from Ukraine, although it is true that Russia had to be supplied 439
with sugar in addition to raw and auxiliary materials (coal, ores, pig-iron, steel etc.). Imports to Ukraine (e. g. textiles) were more than met by exports. But no capital was imported from Russia to set off the active trade balance; this came almost entirely from other countries.

In the common budget of Imperial Russia in the years 651
1909—1913 Ukraine had to supply 20 % of the total revenue 439
while it was allocated only 20 % of the expenditure. Almost half (45—46 %) of the Imperial revenue from Dnipro Ukraine was diverted to other areas of Russia. Three fourths of the funds ear-marked for capitalisation went abroad in the form of interest and dividends; Russia itself utilised revenue from Ukraine to install rival plants that very often manufactured or finished goods derived from Ukraine. Ukraine exported abroad four to nine times as much as she imported and was solely responsible for the fact that Russia had an active trade balance. It is an undisputable fact that Ukraine was an integral part of the economic system of Europe before the First World War.

7. The Russian Eurasian Theory

is that all Eurasian and Asiatic parts of Russia, including 000
peripheral areas like Mongolia, Eastern Turkestan etc. must be united in one great empire. Let us view this problem from the point of view of economic geography.

The features common to that gigantic stretch of territory are the enormous distances between the various centers of production to the frontiers and the sea, the length of time that rivers and seas are ice-bound, sparse population, high costs of transportation, and an unfavorable position with regard to world markets. It must therefore be organised as a self-supporting economy, planned from some center. Western Siberia is the heart of Eurasia.

These facts do not apply to Ukraine. The 2400 km between 131
the sea and the Semyrjechka area may be Eurasian, while in 487
Europe the least favorable points are less than 600 km from the sea, and this "European" distance from the sea holds for Ukraine where no center is further than 600 km from the Black Sea. The distance between the Kusnets Basin, the chief coal area of

131 Eurasia and the ores in the Ural is more than 2000 km; the
487 coal of the Donets Basin, on the other hand, is about 350—450 km from the iron ore of Kryvyj Rih, while the iron and manganese ores of Kerch are nearer still. The seas in the north of Russia are frozen for 20—26 weeks, while the Black Sea has ice for but 3—4 weeks in the year. Most of its harbors can be kept open all winter by means of ice-breakers. The
[161] density of the population in Ukraine is 59 to the square kilometer which cannot be compared with the figures for Siberia (1 per sq. km) or with the average for USSR (8). Conditions in Ukraine, therefore, are much more akin to those in Europe than are those in the continental heart of Eurasia some 4000 km away. And for Ukraine this fact found expression, for instance, in the fact that it could not profit from the reduced railway freights that were granted for long-distance transportation. The unfavorable position of Moscow and Leningrad as manufacturing centers was a great handicap to the economy of Ukraine which possessed all the conditions necessary for production within its own frontiers but nevertheless had to import goods from there and export raw materials to very low prices.

As long as Russia's face was turned towards Europe, these considerations did not matter much, but they are felt all the more acutely now that the economy of the Soviet Union is definitely planned.

8. The Ukrainian idea of economy

421 with its championship of private property was always entirely different from the "mir" idea, with its farming in common and periodical division of the soil which was characteristic for Russian economy. Exceptions within Ukrainian territory, due to special conditions of time and place, do not alter this fundamental fact.
[566] That serfdom should have been abolished so late was felt to be a great burden by the Ukrainian who had enjoyed personal freedom in his days of political independence. He always connected serfdom with Russian rule which naturally did not help to mitigate his aversion to everything Russian.

433 In national Ukrainian literature, the relationship of different branches of economy is often discussed. It is often maintained that up to the present, development has been along the lines of

Increasing industrialisation. Extensive exports of agricultural produce, we are told, are not good for a fairly densely populated country. This call for intensive industrialisation is common to the otherwise diametrically opposed groups of nationalists who dream of self-sufficiency, and of disciples of the Bolshevist Eurasian school.

One-sided industrialisation is an extravagant program, for the country of the Black Earth will, of course, always remain agrarian in character. Increasing industrialisation and the growth of the home market will intensify agriculture, though not in the usual sense, as the nature of the steppe stands in the way. It will pay to solve the problem of the arid areas and production will be increased.

In a purely liberal economic system Ukraine would, of course, have to cease being a country of extensive agrarian exports and dumping great quantities of grain on the market at a loss. But now that international commerce is planned, it is neither necessary that Ukraine should supply the world market with the great quantities of the years preceding the First World War nor that agricultural countries should be forced to sell produce at dumping prices or to other malpractices.

It would considerably strengthen the economic independence of Europe to include Ukraine as a source of agricultural produce and as an industrialised and solvent customer. The economy of Europe will find its necessary complement in a Ukrainian system that is adapted to European needs and not diverted to form part of a Eurasian scheme.

Agriculture

1. Agricultural Features and Overpopulation

162 The agricultural overpopulation of Ukraine is a result of its one-sided social and economic structure. In Germany the rural population forms 29 % of the entire population of the country, while the figures for the agrarian countries of Denmark and Hungary are 30 % and 25 % respectively, the corresponding figure for Ukraine being 75 %. The density of the agricultural population in Ukrainian territory amounts to a general average of 54 per ha of agriculturally utilised soil, in the Right Bank Region and in Western Ukraine to 80, and in Galicia to 103. In Denwark, the model agricultural country, the density of the agricultural population is not even 35 and in Bohemia, where agriculture and industry are highly developed, 241 it is only 52. And yields per ha in Ukraine are fairly low: 433 statistics for 1931—35 are as follows (q/ha):

Country	Wheat	Rye	Barley	Oats	Average
Ukraine	8.5	8.8	8.3	9.2	8.7
Roumania	9.6	10.1	10.3	9.7	9.9
Hungary	13.5	11.8	14.1	12.3	12.9
Germany	21.0	17.4	20.1	19.5	19.5

Agricultural overpopulation is particularly noticeable in view of the small share of agricultural land per head of the rural population (not quite 2 ha). Produce is therefore exported at the expense of the standard of living which actually used to be lower in Ukraine than in the European states that imported the produce.

In the years immediately preceding the Second World War yields per ha in Dnipro-Ukraine seemed to have risen

considerably. For 1938 the average figure for grain was given 241
as 10.9 q/ha, for 1939 = 13.9 q/ha, for 1940 = 19.5 q/ha 433
("Visti" of 11. II. 1941). The average for those three years would be 13 q/ha, higher by 50 % than the average for 1931—1935. As these data were compiled for a meeting of the communist party, a tendency to propaganda must be borne in mind; even in official Soviet statistics, final figures are often more modest than those just quoted. But, in spite of an undisputed increase in yield, the economy of Ukraine must either be strengthened or increased, or both, if it is to be healthy.

2. Soil and Climate

Ukraine contains 44 % of the Black Earth in Europe (160.5 134
million ha) and almost 8 % of that in the whole world (900 million ha) and is one of the largest Black Earth areas in existence. In Ukraine itself $^{3}/_{4}$ of the entire soil is Black Earth and only $^{1}/_{4}$ podsol earth, mountain soil and the good renzine soil of Galicia. Podsol earth predominated in Podlakhia, the Kholm district, North Volynia, in Galician Subcarpathia, in the flats round the Syan and the Upper Buh, in Polesya and partly in the district of Chernyhiv.

Black Earth is one of the best soils and excellently suited to grain. Its humus content is high, its structure crumbly and it is extremely porous. The humus binds certain quantities of moisture which are distributed fairly evenly. Black Earth dries quickly on the surface but lower down it retains moisture for a fair time, even during drought. It preserves its natural fertility for a long time, does not call for any complicated preparation and is easy to work. It requires no manure which may be positively bad for it and even when exploited, the soil preserves itself, so to speak. It needs a relatively small amount of seed.

It is not necessary to have any specially developed agricultural 241
implements on Black Earth: motor-plows and power-driven agricultural machinery are eminently suitable for the great plains that all demand the same treatment. That is why the tendency to mechanisation and to introduce big-scale operations is particularly marked in the Black Earth areas.

132 The many abysses and canyons are a disadvantage. As there are no trees and therefore few birds, there are very many insects. There are also other pests and disadvantages connected with the climate. Ukraine has a continental climate, but it is milder than in Russia. The average yearly temperature of 8.10° Celsius corresponds to that of Erfurt (8.3°). The difference between the warmest month (July) and the coldest (January) is bigger than in Erfurt (18.8°) and increases towards the east (Lviv 23.4°, Kyiv 25.3°, Kharkiv 28.8°); the period of vegetation decreases in the same direction (Erfurt 218 days, Lviv 211, Kyiv 203, Kharkiv 201). The lack of clouds is favorable to growth and the ripening process.

Apart from mountainous areas, there is a rainfall in the North-west of 600 mm, in Galicia 700 mm, a figure which decreases for the central steppe to 500 mm and in the south steppe to 400 mm. In a limited territory round the Sea of Oziv and the Black Sea it is as low as 300 mm, the minimum in USA for successful agriculture. 6 million ha of the steppe often suffer from drought and bad harvests. The most important tasks of agriculture in Ukraine are to combat drought and to intensify methods of cultivating the soil; irrigation schemes in connection with the power station on the Dnipro which would ensure irrigation of 1—2 million ha, have not yet been carried out.

3. Utilisation of Soil

311 Arable land in Ukraine amounts to 66 % of the entire area, in the steppe even to 80 %. In France, Italy, Germany and Roumania the proportion is 41—45 %, while the average for USSR including Ukraine is only 31 %. Only in Hungary and Denmark we find a situation similar to that in Ukraine, though on a much smaller scale. Ukraine must rank as the first agrarian state in Europe.

The proportion of forest land is correspondingly low (12 %), though in the mountains and Polesya it accounts for 35—38 %; in the steppe it sinks as low as 4 %. Even the European countries that are poorest in forests, such as Italy and France, have 16—19 % forest land; the most of them reach the double of the figure for Ukraine

311 The 15 % meadows and pastureland is a little lower than the average for most European countries; this figure is higher for Polesya, the Carpathians and the foothills of the Caucasus (25—30 %); in the more intensively managed areas of the Right-Bank Region it sinks to 5 %. Ukraine (like Bohemia and Moravia) has only 7 % of land that cannot be utilised for agriculture or forestry, a proportion that is 16 % for Polesya alone. This figure is considerably higher for most European countries: Germany, Roumania, France and Italy have 12—19 %, USSR 17 %.

20 % of all plowed lands lie fallow, as, with the exception of some areas in the West, the three-crop rotation system is general. Grain takes up 76 % of the arable land, 90 % even in the steppe. Since the first World War this share has declined in favor of technical cultures which have doubled their pre-war area. In 1935 they accounted for 9 %; a further 8 % is used for other vegetation for food (potatoes), 7 % for fodder plants.

241 Wheat and barley are the two kinds of grain that are most characteristic for Ukraine, though much rye is also grown. Its share (21 %) of the land laid down in grain and potatoes was in the years 1931—35 between that of wheat (32 %) and that of barley (13 %). Oats followed (10 %), then maize (9 %), millet (6 %) and buckwheat (3 %), potatoes (6 %). Rye is above all used for domestic consumption.

4. Grain: Areas of Production and Varieties

243 The biggest surpluses in grain are harvested in the old provinces of Katerynoslav, Kherson, Tauria and the Kuban area, crops being wheat and barley and others. The proportion of these two varieties in the entire yield of grain decreases as we pass from south-east to north-west. In Western Ukraine, Volynia and the district of Tarnopil are areas of surplus yields while the rest of Galicia has to import grain. Wheat thrives best on the Black Earth of what was once steppe and occupies about 1/3 of the area laid down in grain and potatoes. Cultivation of wheat increased for a long time in accordance with the growing world consumption, but decreased when facilities for export disappeared and when domestic consumption became more important (see tables 1 and 2).

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDI Ukraine RDI

Table 1. Ukraine in the World Production of Grain.

1909—13	Wheat	Rye	Barley	Oats	Total in Mill.
	in thousand t.				
East Ukraine	9 350	5 200	6 100	2 350	23
Russian Empire	20 500	19 000	9 000	13 500	62
Share of East Ukraine in %	48	30	72	17	37
West Ukraine	640	680	400	250	2
Ukraine total	9 990	5 900	6 500	2 600	25
World Production in Million t.	100	45	38	65	250
Share of Ukraine in %	10	13	17	3	10
1931—1935					
East Ukraine	9 100	5 420	3 720	2 230	20,5
Soviet Union	23 900	21 900	6 600	15 000	67,5
Share of East Ukraine in %	38	25	56	15	30
West Ukraine	1 020	1 530	680	870	4,1
Ukraine total	10 120	6 950	4 400	3 100	24,6
World Production in Million t.	127	46	39	62	274
Share of Ukraine in %	8	15	11	5	9

Table 2. Ukraine in the World Export of Grain.

1909—1913	Wheat		Rye		Barley		Oats		Total		Maize		Altogether	
	1000 t	%	1000 t	%	1000 t	%	1000 t	%	1000 t	%	1000 t	%	Mill. t	%
1. Ukraine	4300	20	600	21	2700	43	300	8,5	7900	23	700	10	8,6	21
2. Argentine . . .	2600	12	—	—	—	—	620	17,5	3220	9,5	2950	40,5	6,1	15
3. USA	2960	13,5	10	0,5	160	2,5	60	1,5	3190	9,5	1020	14	4,1	10
4. Roumania . . .	1430	6,5	100	3,5	350	5,5	150	4,5	2030	6	1000	14	3,1	7
5. Canada	2530	12	—	—	100	1,5	180	5	2810	8	—	—	2,8	6
6. Russian Empire . .	100	0,5	200	7	1000	16	800	23	2150	6	100	1,5	2,2	5
7. B. India	1380	6,5	—	—	230	3,5	—	—	1610	4,5	—	—	1,6	4
8. Australia . . .	1150	5,5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1150	5,5	—	—	1,2	3
World	21500	100	2800	100	6300	100	3500	100	34100	100	7300	100	41,4	100
Share of Ukraine in %	20		21		43		9		23		10		21	
Russian Empire	4400	21,5	800	28,5	3700	58,5	1100	31	10000	29,5	800	11	10,8	26
Share of Ukraine in %	98		75		73		27		79		88		80	

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5. Other Agricultural Produce.

244 433 In Western Ukraine potatoes account for 16—18 % of the arable land, decreasing towards the south-east to 3—2%. There has been a considerable increase in the cultivation of potatoes of recent times on the small property belonging to private or to collectivised peasants. The yield per ha which before World War I amounted to 92 q sank in the years 1929—1933 to 86 q (Belgium 213, Germany 156, France 110, USSR 80, USA 72). Its total production of 20.6 million t, 10 % of world production (205.6 million t in years 1931—35) puts Ukraine fourth after Germany, USSR (exclusive of Ukraine), and Poland (exclusive of Ukrainian territory).

249 433 Sugar beet is the most important technical culture. It is grown mostly in the center of Dnipro-Ukraine where the rainfall is 500 mm, above all in the area round Kyiv and in Podolia. The average area planted in the years from 1901/02 to 1910/11 amounted to 555 000 ha and the total yield to 85 million t (154 q/ha). In 1935 Ukraine, with a sugar beet area of 952 000 ha, was the first country in the world as regards this product.

And yet the yields per hektar have decreased to 90 q, the average for 1931—35. In Germany the corresponding figure is 290 q/ha, in Denmark 322 q/ha, in Holland 350 q/ha, in the USSR 84 q/ha. The reason for the decrease is to be sought in the Soviet form of management. With an entire yield of 8.8 mil-

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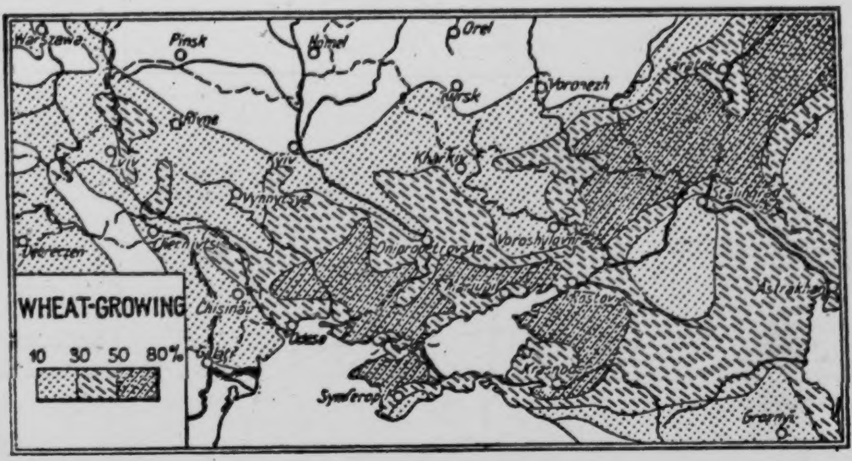
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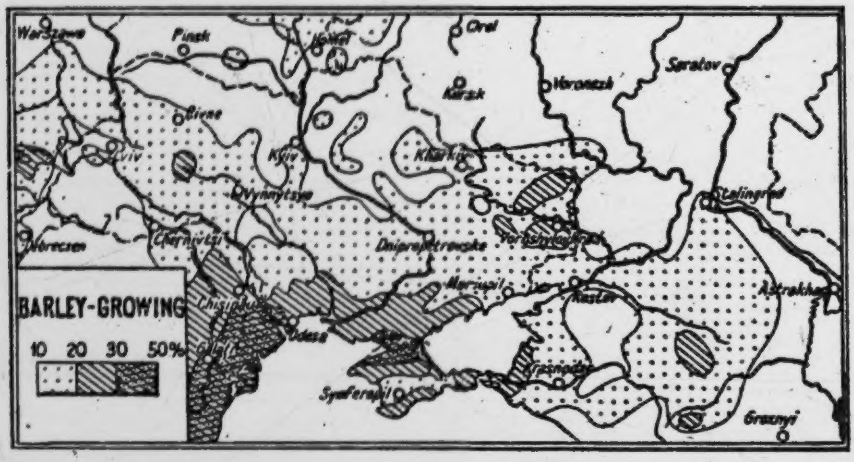
Dnipropetrovske
Voroshylovhrad
Stalingrad
Mariupil
Chisinău
Odesa
Galati
Rostov
Astrakhan
Symferopil
Krasnodar
Groznyi
WHEAT-GROWING
10 30 50 80%

lion t and 14 % of the world production of sugar beet, Ukraine comes second after Germany (10.6 million t) and before France and the USA (8.2 and 8.1 million t respectively). 249 433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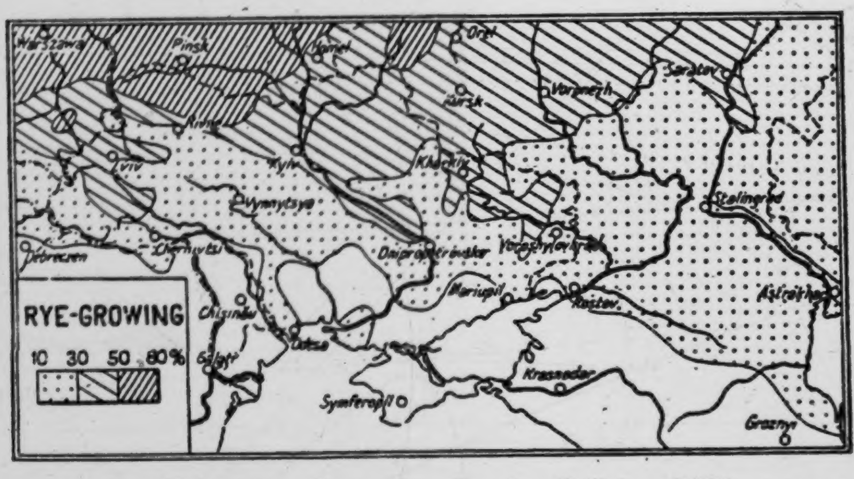
Chernivtsi
Dnipropetrovske
Voroshylovgrad
Mariupil
Rostov
Astrakhan
BARLEY-GROWING
10 20 30 50%
Chisinau
Odesa
Galati
Krasnodar
Symferopil
Groznyi

[243]

Conditions for growing tobacco in Ukraine are favorable, but the area planted, which in 1908 was 50 000 ha, has not been increased; the yield has risen slightly (8 000 t in the entire country). Better qualities were planted in the south, and elsewhere the well-known "makhorka". Hops of good quality were 249 433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Stalingrad
Debrecen
Chernivtsi
Dnipropetrovske
Voroshylovgrad
RYE-GROWING
10 30 50 80%
Chisinau
Galati
Mariupil
Rostov
Astrakhan
Odesa
Krasnodar
Symferopil
Groznyi

[243]

grown in Volynia and partly also in Galicia; 2000 t were harvested.

248 433 Hemp is produced above all in the Chernyhiv area (229 000 ha), Ukraine coming after the USSR in hemp production of the world; in the years 1931—35 its fibre yield was 13 % (8 000 t)

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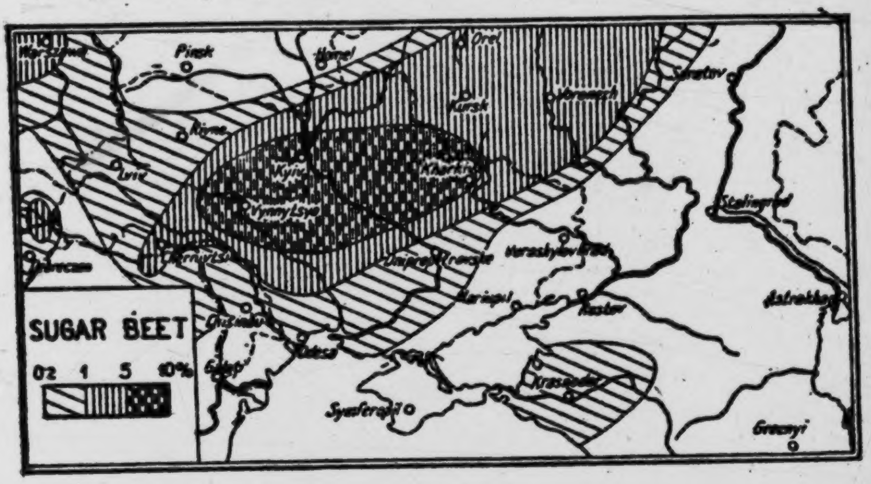
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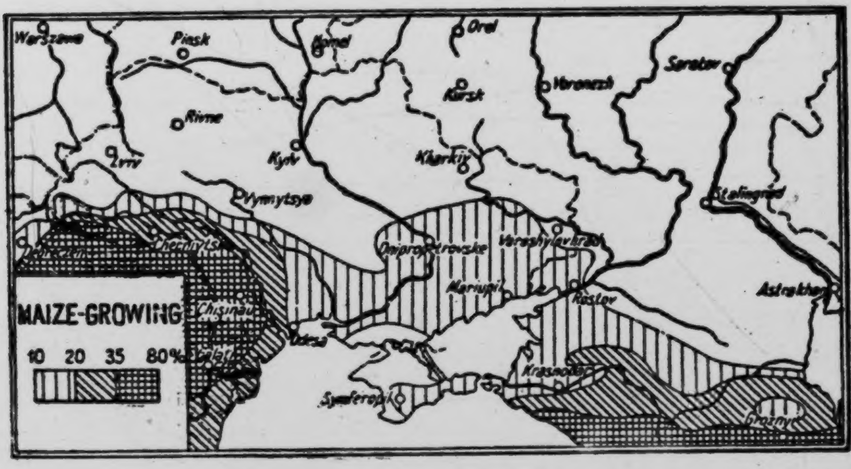
Dnipropetrovske
Voroshylovhrad
Mariupil
Rostov
Astrakhan
Chisinau
Odesa
Galati
Krasnodar
Symferopil
Groznyi
SUGAR BEET
0.2 1 5 10%

and its seed yield 19 % (420 000 t) of the world production. Flax is grown on an area of 230 000 ha; Ukraine with a yield of 60 000 t stands second in world production of fibre flax (9.4 % of 640 000 t) while it is sixth as a producer of flax for seed, its yield of 71 000 t being 2 % of world production (3.5 million t).

[243]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Voroshylovhrad
Mariupil
Rostov
Astrakhan
MAIZE-GROWING
Chisinau
Odesa
Galati
10 20 35 80%
Krasnodar
Symferopil
Groznyi

Cotton is produced on areas that shift from year to year, mostly without artificial irrigation; hitherto it has not been very Successful (45,000t) successful (45 000 t). Sunflowers were cultivated in 1935 on an area of 1 659 000 ha, mainly in the Kuban area. The yield for 1930—35 (0.9 million t) was only a little less than that of the USSR and much more than that of any other country. 247

As a grain producing country, Ukraine, with its yield of approximately 25 million t of the four main European varieties (= 10 % of world production), took a leading place in the years before the First World War (1909—1931). It exported 7.9 million t, or $^{1}/_{6}$ of total world grain exports, topping the list for wheat and barley (4.3 million t, and 20 % and 2.7 million t and 43 % respectively of world exports). In the years 1931—35, production in Ukraine decreased by only 9 % i. e. by 24.6 million t, world production amounting then to 276.6 million t, while the decrease in export trade in the same period was much greater. The reason for this was the small yield per hektar as well as inadequate cultivation in consequence of collectivisation and unfavorable conditions for selling agricultural and buying industrial products; in addition there was an increased demand at home as the country became more industrialised. 433 243

6. Cattle Rearing

The distribution of livestock in Ukraine varies considerably. In the wide spaces of North Caucasia there is much pasture-land so that there are not many cattle per unit of area, though quite a number per head of the population. 231 433 811

The opposite is true of Galicia where management is intensive. The many meadows of Polesya support good stocks of cattle while the mountain pastures of the Carpathians are not sufficiently utilised. Between those extremes we have the bulk of Ukrainian arable land with relatively poor supplies of fodder for cattle. The result is that Ukraine does not contribute to the cattle rearing industry of the world what one might expect from a country of its agricultural standing. Before World War I there were 13.5 million head of cattle in Ukraine, i. e. 2.8 % of world stock. The proportion of dairy cows in this figure increases continuously as the use of oxen for draught, which used to be a characteristic feature of the country, had been declining for some time. (Table 3).

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Table 3. The Livestock in Ukraine (1912—1937) in Million of Head.

	1912	16	20	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	37
cattle	6,5	7,7	6,8	7,1	8.3	8,9	8,4	8,4	8,6	7,6	6 8	6,2	5,0	4 4	5,3	6,3	7,8
cows	2,6	3,1	3,7	3.7	3,7	3,9	3,9	3,9	4,0	3 9	3 5	3,4	2,7	2,4	2,5	2,6	3,5
horses	5,6	5,5	3,9	3,8	4,0	4,2	4,6	5,1	5,5	5 6	5 3	4,8	3,7	2,6	2,5	2 6	3,5
pigs	4,3	4,6	5.3	2,4	4,2	3,7	3.7	4,4	7 0	4,2	3,2	5,4	2,6	2,1	4,2	4,7	7,7
sheep	6,2	6,4	6,9	8.4	9,3	9,7	8,7	8,0	8,1	7,0	4,5	3,4	2,1	2,0	2,2	2,8	3,8

In 1912 the number of horses was disproportionately high, viz., 7 millions. With the increasing use of motors, this number was reduced which, from the point of view of economy, was perfectly justifiable. Pig breeding, on the other hand, tended to increase, particularly in the north-west and the Kuban area. In spite of that, there were before World War I only 7.1 million pigs in the country, i. e. 4 % of world stock.

Sheep breeding has declined as a result of intensive management and competition from overseas on the world wool market, above all in fine wools.

Dnipro Ukraine statistics for the year 1916 provide characteristic material for judging the general development as well as the present position. Except for horses which had stopped increasing even before 1908, the figures for 1916 were only temporarily reached in the last year before the series of Five Year Plans. Diagrams 1 and 2).

[474] Collectivisation measures by the Soviets were a great blow to cattle rearing in Ukraine. Rather than hand over cattle to the State for nothing, the peasants slaughtered their stocks wholesale; and, as a result of bad treatment, epidemics and poor feeding, the cattle stocks of collective enterprises greatly declined. In 1933 the number of cattle and horses was only half what it had been in 1928 and pigs and sheep less than a quarter, while the entire stock had been reduced to 2/5, or 38 %. It was only after the colkhose peasants were allowed to keep cattle of their own, that numbers began slowly to rise, though they did not reach the level of 1928.

In Western Ukraine the development of stock-keeping was much more favorable, but the number for the whole of Ukraine was below prewar level, except in the case of pigs.

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine RDl

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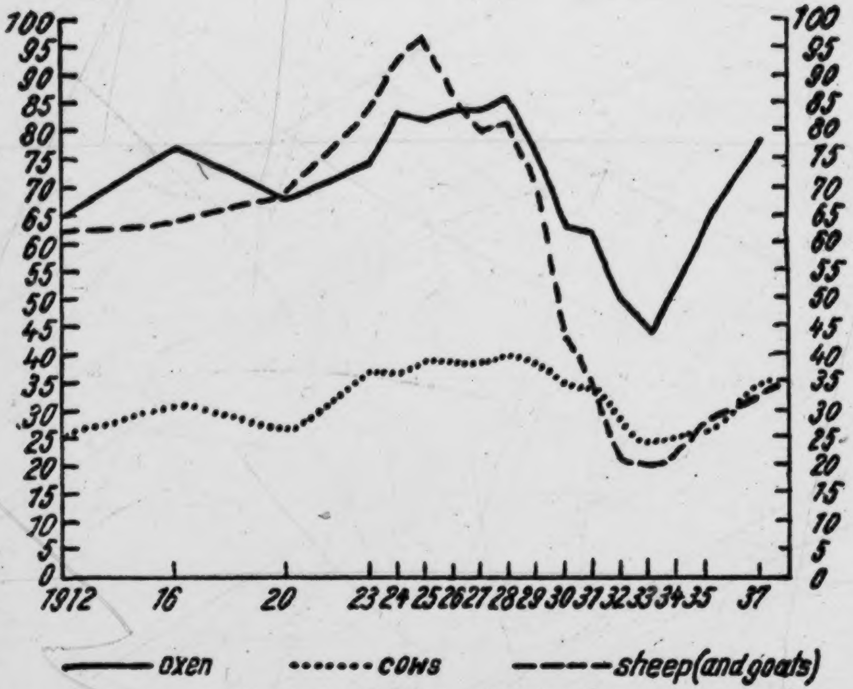

Diagram 1. Livestock in Dnipro-Ukraine (1912-37; in 100000)

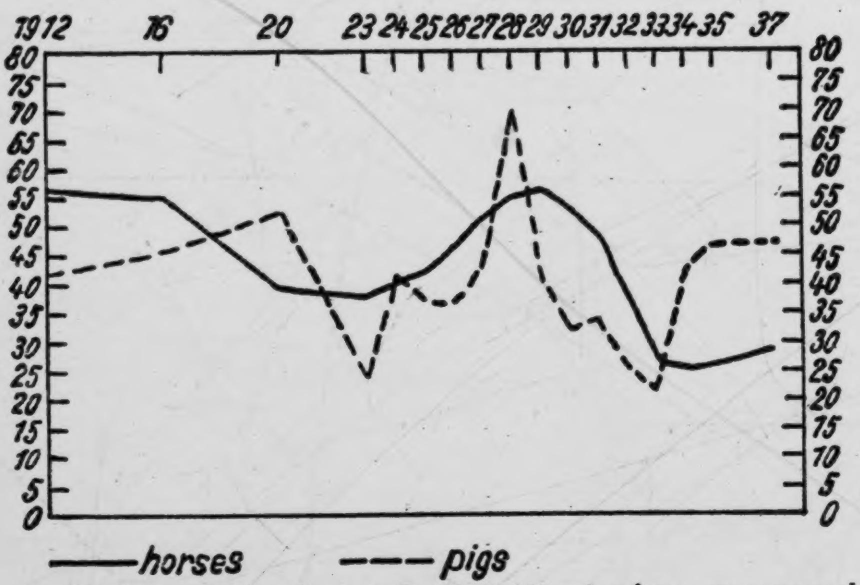

Diagram 2. Livestock in Dnipro - Ukraine (1912-37; in 100000)

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine RDl

231 Cattle trade and management in Ukraine in general are far
433 from satisfactory, though there was a well organised cooperative dairy system in Galicia; butter was even exported. On both sides, particularly in the south of the Carpathians, the production of cheese made good progress. Any export of meat that there was, is partly a result of the small demand for home consumption. Though poultry farming was neither intensive nor sufficiently progressive, a considerable number of eggs was exported.

Forestry

The natural conditions for a satisfactory system of forestry 313 are given neither on the Black Earth nor on the steppe proper, where the low rainfall practically excludes sylviculture in place. The situation in Polesya and the mountains is entirely different, but forest areas there are too limited to play any part of importance in the general economy of the country. Exploitation in former times, above all the export of wood and potash by the Union of Poland and Lithuania, completely destroyed forest stocks. It is only since the end of the nineteenth century that there has been any forest conservation in Russia. Since 1880, Dnipro Ukraine alone has lost out of 4,2 million ha of forests (4.9 million ha of forest land), more than 40 %, so that in 1932 it had only 2.5 million ha of forests (3.5 million ha of forest land).

Reforestation of forest land would produce 650000 ha of forests, which could be increased to 1.5 million ha by including land that is not particularly valuable for agriculture. Such measures which, in the 35 years before the First World War had produced in Germany an increase of 2.5 % and 13 % in France in the course of 64 years, were not seriously entertained in post-war years either by USSR or Poland. Areas that had been stripped of trees (22 % and 12 % respectively) were not forested.

Forests in the Carpathians amount to 48 % of the stocks in the entire Ukraine, there being 1.08 ha per head of the population; the corresponding figures for the Caucasus, especially in the north are 58 % and 1.6 ha, for Polesya 40 %, and 0.5 ha. The other areas of the northern zone have fewer forests, the figures being 20 % and 0.23 ha for Podlakhia and Chernyhiv and 19 % and 0.18 ha for Galicia and Volynia in the central zone. The center of Dnipro-Ukraine has little forest land, the figures

313 being 13 % and 0.14 ha for the Right Bank Region and 7 % or 0.12 ha for the Left Bank Region. The southern zone has still less (0.08 ha per head) and there is practically none at all in the southern steppe proper.

[311] Thanks to its enormous area Ukraine with its 11 million ha of forest land comes fifth in Europe, but there is only 12 % of forest land in the entire country, and scarcely 0.2 ha per head of the population, while 0.3 ha is regarded as the minimum. The figures for actual forest stock will be still less, as only three quarters of the nominal forest land in Soviet Ukraine (3.1 million out of 4.3 million ha) represent actual forests. Thus the ratio of forest to the entire area of Ukraine would be 9 %. Forestry in those parts of Ukraine that used to belong to Austria-Hungary was on a higher level than in the other provinces; after the war it was highest in Carpatho-Ukraine.

313 The annual increment in timber in Dnipro-Ukraine amounts to 2 cubic meters per ha, in Volynia, Podlakhia and Polesya to 1.9 cubic metres, in Galicia and Carpatho-Ukraine to 3.3 cubic metres, so that the average figure for the entire country is 2.3 cubic metres. This average for Ukraine is low compared with the figure of 5 cubic meters for the state forests of Germany and 4.4 for the communal forests.

313
439 Reckoned per head of the population there is in Ukraine a timber increment of only 0.4 cubic meters, which is far lower than in most of the forest countries in Europe. As a result, wood has to be imported for mining and industrial areas.

Wood imports amounted to 1.8 million t in Dnipro-Ukraine in 1913, and the average figures for 1928/29 and 1933/34 are 3.7 and 4 million t respectively. The average imports to Northern Caucasia for the last year amounted to 1.2 million t, while the figure for the Crimea is 250 000 and for the whole of Eastern Ukraine 5.5 million t. The demand for timber is greatest in the Donets Basin, the Dnipro Bend and also in Kharkiv and Odessa.

Imports consist chiefly of soft woods; a certain amount of valuable oak is even exported from areas that are otherwise dependent on imports. In those parts of Ukraine that belong to Soviet Russia there is 0.16 ha forest per head of the population,

the figure for the Roumanian provinces being 0.25, for the Polish 3/3
0.36, and 1.05 for the Hungarian provinces. 439

Imports of timber came mostly by water and rail from White Ruthenia and above all from the forests in the middle reaches of the Volga. The wood that was drifted down the Volga was loaded on railway trucks in Stalingrad and transported to its destination.

Hardwoods predominate in the forest stock of Ukraine (59 %). 313
Oak represents 27 %, beech 9 % of the entire forests. Of the 41 % 137
softwoods there is 27 % pine. Pine and oak are the main species in Dnipro-Ukraine, while in Galicia spruce predominates and beech in Carpatho-Ukraine. In the Caucasus species of oak and beech occur most frequently.

Mineral Resources

135 The distribution of minerals in Ukraine is most favorable. The most important supplies are in the midst of areas that are valuable from the point of view of agriculture: coal and salt in the Donets Basin, iron and manganese ore at the Bend of the Dnipro. Even the minerals in the Carpathians and the Caucasus (oil etc.), in spite of their remoteness from the center of the country, have fertile foreland in the vicinity.

There are secondary deposits scattered throughout the country (lignite, kaolin, peat etc.). In general, the mineral supplies of Ukraine are easy to get at; the problem of transportation is more easily solved than in Russia and there is little difference between geological deposits and those worth exploiting. In the last 30 years much progress has been made in mineral surveys, not that extensive new deposits have been discovered, but investigation of deposits already known has led to intensive operation of these.

In Ukraine, minerals occur over a large area and at no great depth. It is a disadvantage that productive layers are often limited and unevenly distributed; there are "dead" intervals and sometimes impurities that detract from quality; these faults are not present in the most important deposits of iron ore at Kryvyj Rih.

1. Main Minerals and Areas of Occurrence

Ukraine is richer in sources of fuel and power than most European countries. We only need mention the sole great coal deposit in Eastern Europe in the Donets Basin. The oil wells in the foothills on both wings of the Ukrainian territory are exposed from the point of view of strategy. Wood alone must be imported. There are many sources of water power, even if they are not very significant.

Metals are very unevenly distributed. While there is but a small quantity of non-precious metals, the abundance of ores for heavy iron industry assure for Ukraine an eminent place among the ore-producing countries of the world and it is even first as a producer of manganese ore. There are generous deposits of alumina, among others kaolin, salt, graphite and building materials, though one would not think so from the wretched condition of the roads.

The mineral wealth of the country is distributed as follows:

1) **In the Donets Basin:** coal, rock and other salt, some iron and other ores, including mercury, phosphorite, kaolin, fireproof alumina, many small deposits of other metals, limestone, marl, dolomite, chalk, quartz sand, building stone etc.
2) **In the Dnipro Bend on Right Bank:** iron ore at Kryvyj Rih and manganese ore at Nikopil; also graphite, ochre, brown coal, kaolin.
3) **In the foreland of the Caucasus:** petroleum, some coal, lead, tin and iron ores, many small deposits of non-precious minerals, largish deposits of cement, rich deposits of iron ore on the Kerch Peninsula.
4) **In the Carpathians:** petroleum, mineral wax, salt (also on south side), potassium, manganese ore, some iron ore, graphite, brown coal etc.

A small part of the coal deposit on the Donets spreads on to territory that is not Ukrainian. But, otherwise, all this mineral wealth is in Ukrainian soil, even if the influx of foreign labor has led to a decline in the Ukrainian population in some localities.

Such factors determine the place of Ukraine in the world sources of petroleum. The Galician oilfields are in ancient Ukrainian territory, but long Polish pressure has won the upper hand in a small part of the oilfields of Jaslo in the west. The oilfields in the Kuban area lie in territory that was long ago colonised by Ukraine, whereas the colonising process is still active in the Terek areas. The Groznyj petroleum field in North Caucasia has not yet been colonised by Ukrainians and, like many industrial areas, forms a Russian island that is miles away from contiguous Russian territories. If Ukraine claims Groznyj, it is giving expression to a certain territorial theory, but above all to the natural ambition of a colonising nation to penetrate and hold the entire area it has settled.

2. Coal

Coal has recently been discovered outside of the Donets Basin 30 kilometers from Lviv, at Kaminka Strumylova, Sokal and Zadviria; the extent of this coalfield has not yet been determined.

In North Caucasia, where the entire coal has been estimated at 740 million t, 96 millions having beeen definitely established, the deposits south of Batalpashynske on the upper reaches of the Kuban and its tributaries are known to exist though there has been little prospecting. The deposit is usually estimated at 115 million t, while 38 million t have actually been proved to exist (the calorific value is low, viz. 6 900 for coal from the best known coalfields and 7 900 for those of best quality). The deposits at Koushin, Balaclava and Telenejir in the Crimea, estimated at 340 million t, are not first rate either.

The coal fields on the Don lie on the right bank of the lower reaches of the river from the district of Izium to where it flows into the Don. They have an area of 23 000 sq. kilometers compared with the 3 000 sq. kilometers of the Ruhr area which is richer in coal. The seams are fairly shallow, practically indeed on the surface (compared to the 350 meters depth in Upper Silesia). The average depth of the mine-shaft is 146 meters while in the Ruhr it is more than 600 meters and in the most important English mines 312 meters. The cost of bringing the coal to the surface is therefore relatively low.

The average thickness of the seams is scarcely $^3/_4$ meters, twice or three times less than in the Ruhr area or in the Kusnets Basin in Siberia. They run unevenly and are not continuous. The Donets coal contains more impurities and 10—14 % ash, compared with 8—9 % in Germany and 7—10 % in the „Kusbas“ and its sulphur content is also greater (almost 2 % compared with 1.2 % and 0.5 % respectively). These are disadvantages for the carbonisation process.

At the Geological Conference in Toronto in 1913 the coal resources of the Donets Basin were estimated at 55.6 milliard t.

Table 4. Coal Resources in Leading Countries

	Anthracite		Coal		Brown coal		Altogethor		Europe
	Mrd. t	% World	Mrd. t	% World	Mrd. t	% World	Mrd. t	% World	%
1. USA	19,7	3,4	1956	47,2	1863	64,0	3839	50,2	(480)
2. China	388,0	66,1	607	14,6	0,6	—	996	13,0	(154)
3. Canada	2,1	0,4	284	6,9	948	32,6	1234	16,1	(125)
4. Soviet Union	128,0	21,8	332	8,0	20,0	0,7	480	6,3	(59)
(Asiatic area)	(107,0)	Europe	(284)	Europe	(7,1)	Europe	(398)	(5,2)	—
(European area)	(20,8)	55,7	(48)	(6.7)	(12,9)	(25,3)	(77)	(1,0)	9,6
5. Germany	—	—	430	60.0	26,0	51,0	456	6,0	57,0
(Poland)	—	—	(170)	(23,7)	—	—	(170)	(2,2)	(21,2)
6. England	11,4	30,5	178	24,9	—	—	190	2,5	23,8
7. Ukraine	11,8	31,6	43	6,0	5,0	9,8	60	0,7	7,5
8. France	3,3	8,8	29	4,1	1,6	3,1	34	0,5	4,3
9. Belgium	—	—	11	1,5	—	—	11	0,5	1,4
10. Spitzbergen	—	—	8,8	1,2	—	—	8,8		1,1
11. Spain	1,6	4,3	6,4	0,9	0,8	1,8	8,8		1,1
12. Holland	0,3	0,8	4,1	0.6	—	—	4,4		0,6
Europe	37	6,3	716	17,3	47	1,6	800	10,5	100
Asia	514	87,6	978	23,6	12	0,4	1505	29,7	(188)
North America	22	3,7	2240	54,0	2812	96,7	5073	66,4	(634)
South America	1	0,2	31	0,8	—	—	32	0,4	(4)
Africa	12	2,0	45	1,1	1	—	58	0,8	(7)
Australia	1	0,2	133	3,2	35	1,2	169	2,2	(21)
World	590	100	4140	100	2910	100	7640	100	(965)

Table 5. Coal Resources in 9 Largest Coaling Areas of World.

Area	Country	Principal kind of coal	mrd. t	% of world	% of total
1. Alberta Saskatchewan	Canada	brown coal	1119	14,6	34,6
2. Shangsi	China	coal & anthracite	714	9,3	22,1
3. Appalachians	USA	coal	551	7,2	17,0
4. Kusnets Basin	Western Siboria	coal	250	3,3	7,7
5. Ruhr	Germany	coal	214	2,8	6,6
6. Upper Silesia	Germany	coal	196	2,6	6,1
7. Donets Basin	Ukraine	coal & anthracite	69	0,9	2,1
8. Cheremkhowo	East Siberia	different varieties	66	0,[illegible]	2,0
9. Yorkshire	England	coal	56	0,7	1,7
Total			3235	42,4	100

Since then newly prospected areas have been added, the process of extension being not yet completed. In 1937 stocks were estimated at 89 mrd. t; but the figure for 1927, 69 mrd. t, calculated for a depth of 1 500 meters is more exact. $^2/_3$ of the coalfields, but much more than $^3/_4$ of the coal supplies (54.3 mrd. t) are in Ukrainian territory. As a producer of coal Ukraine is 7th in the countries of the world and 3rd in Europe.

There are many varieties of coal in the Donets Basin; bituminous, gas and furnace coal are mostly found in the coalfields of the west and the center, while porous coal and anthracite are also found in the eastern fields (the latter represent 30 % of the entire deposit). The 21 mrd. t anthracite here is far more than that found in all the other countries of Europe (17 milliard t). Bituminous coal constitutes less than $^1/_4$ of the Donets deposits.

3. Petroleum

Up to date no great quantities of petroleum have been discovered in Central Ukraine. The natural gas at Melitopil is evidence of petroleum at great depth. During prospective of salt mines in the Left Bank Region, petroleum has also been found.

The Galician oilfields stretch 400 km along the north flank of the Carpathians from Dunajec and the Duklapass to Bucovina and cover an area of 10 000 ha. The Jaslo oilfield is west of the Syan, while the main fields of Drohobych with wells at Boryslav, Tustanovychi, Skhidnytsia, Mraznytsia lie east of the same river and the Bytkiv field is in the south-east.

The petroleum in these fields lies far below the surface, 1.000 meters deep in Boryslav and often more than 1 300 meters. Geological conditions make it difficult to exploit the wells, although the upper layers are firmer than those in North Caucasia and the deposits are more concentrated. South of the Carpathians there are insignificant deposits which, however, have perhaps not been sufficiently investigated.

The deposits in the Kuban area are distributed over a wide surface in 7—10 fields from the Taman Peninsula via Maikop, the center of the oil industry to the Laba. Up till now this area has only been ¹/₄ prospected (22.5 % in 1935). The soil is sandy and the petroleum lies 700 metres deep.

The oilfields of Groznyj lie in the north-east slopes of the Caucasus, on the southern bank of the Terek river. Geological conditions are not favorable and have not been adequately prospected (26 %).

Judged by European standards at least, the stores of petroleum in Ukraine are considerable. Resources in Galicia are estimated at 100 million t, and in the Kuban area at 66—82 million t (but also at far more than the Galician figure), the Groznyj fields are estimated to contain 208—1290 million t. It is true that more recent estimates for North Caucasia are more modest (240 million t in all); nevertheless, Ukraine ranks high among the oil producing countries of the globe.

The quality of the petroleum varies. In Galicia it is mostly of medium weight (specific weight: 0.825—0.835 g); it provides 5—12 % of light fractions, mainly benzine, 51—56 of medium, above all gas for lighting and only 24—30 % of heavy lubricating oils, such as masut, vaseline and the oils with up to 6 % paraffin, which are characteristic for Galicia. In many fields the percentage of benzine is much higher. In the Kuban area there is still more variety between the different fields. Maikop petroleum is lighter than Galician (0.805—0.835 g), contains no paraffin, 135 but more benzine (8—15 %) and even 30 % in the newer fields; Groznyj petroleum is particularly rich in benzine.

It also contains paraffin, but a relatively small percentage of the medium fractions. As a comparison we may quote Pennsylvanian oil (0.791—0.812 g specific weight) which, at a first distillation, yields 10—20 % benzine, 60—75 % medium and only 5—10 % heavy fractions. Baku oil has a specific weight of more than 0.870; it provides 5—7 % benzine, 27—33 % medium and 56 bis 65 % heavy fractions. Galician oil is midway between these two extremes while the varieties in North Caucasia belong rather to the lighter oils.

Mineral wax occurs at Boryslav and some other places in Galicia, but is otherwise very rare throughout the world.

Natural gas is found unaccompanied at Melitopil, Kerch, and in many places in North Caucasia, and otherwise it appears along with oil. It contains 70—97 % methane and also naphtaline, sulphur and other substances that can be used. It has, however, been little investigated and is used only in Galicia for long-distance heating and lighting, but otherwise only locally (8 500—9 000 calories).

4. Other Fuels and Sources of Power

In the Right Bank Region which is so valuable from the agricultural point of view, brown coal is the most abundant fuel. South of the Kyiv district there are the well-known deposits at Katerynopil, Jurkivka, Zhuravka, etc. In the Kirovohrad district (Jelizavethrad) there are those at Balashivka, Katerynivka, etc. In the surroundings of Oleksandrija — Semenivka, Zelenove etc, in the Kryvyj Rih district — Saksahan, Veselo-Ternivka, Heylivka etc. These 4 or 5 groups form a chain, which is, however, not continuous.

The group of deposits in Volynia and Podolia (stocks 30 million t) is centered round the Galician towns of Potylych near Rava Ruska, Hlynsko and Skvaryava, and also appear at Kremianets in Volynia. There is a group of deposits in Subcarpathian Galicia (27 million t) at Myshyn, Dzhuriv, Novoselytsia etc, the coal being of superior quality and of higher calorific value (4 100 — 4 400). Soviet estimates for 1940, to be accepted with caution, increase the entire deposit of brown coal in Galicia and Volynia (the Dnister Basin) of not quite 100 million t to approximetely 1 mrd. In Carpatho - Ukraine there are numerous smaller deposits, to give the better known names for instance in Antalivtsi, Bilky, Dovhe, Nerezhnytsia etc. There is brown coal also in other parts of Ukrainian territory, the brown coal deposits in Ukraine probably amount to some (5—6) mrd. tons. But only a part of the 150 deposits has been investigated and up till now scarcely 518 million tons of industrial deposits have been determined there. They lie at no great depth, though mostly between layers of sand which allow water to sicker through. Mining conditions are difficult. On the whole neither the quality nor the calorific value (a little more than 2 000 on an average) of this earthy brown coal is high (lignite is rare). But brown coal is very good for the manufacture of briquettes and the process increases its calorific value considerably (4 500 calories), and makes it far easier to transport.

Peat, still more than brown coal, has the advantage of occurring in districts remote from coaling areas, above all in the north-east area of Ukraine. In some districts of Polesya there is peat over 1/3 of the entire surface. In the Kyiv district, the peat bogs on the river Irpen have long been known, as well as the extensive marshes of the Irdyn on the river Tiasmyn etc.

The peat areas in Ukraine have not been intensively studied. It is estimated that in the central area of the Dnipro region, 1.9 million ha of bogland would produce peat and about 0.8 million ha in Western Ukraine. Taking only 3/4 of that area into consideration, 2.3 million ha represent about 4 % of the entire peat land in Europe (56 million ha). Ukrainian figures are very low compared with the peat resources of the northern areas that belong to USSR. The peat in Ukraine was estimated at approximately 4 mrd. t while the corresponding figure for USSR was perhaps 460 million t. But up till 1927 only 1/3 (35.5 %) of the Dnipro-Ukraine peat land mentioned was registered and only 1/6 has really been prospected.

376 Waterpower in Ukraine is estimated at about 12 million HP. Of this some 9.6 million is supplied by the mountain rivers of North Caucasia. The water-power of the Carpathian rivers is much less, but also less utilised. The fall of the rivers in Dnipro-Ukraine is, of course, incomparably less though they carry far more water. Their water-power is estimated at 1.4 million HP, more than $^{2}/_{3}$ being utilised while scarcely 10 % of the entire water-power in Ukraine is harnessed to industry. It is not, however, certain that all the power of the mountain rivers could be utilised for industrial purposes.

5. Iron Ores

(See Table 6)

135 Ukraine has small deposits of iron ore in practically all areas, also in Galicia and Carpatho-Ukraine. In the Kuban area the entire resources amount to almost 100 million t. As an important contributor to the history of production, the Donets Basin must also be mentioned. All those deposits have a local, if sometimes not inconsiderable, significance.

The iron ore deposit at Kryvyj Rih (Russian Kriwoi Rog) is the most important in Eastern Europe, both from the point of view of quality and quantity. The ore lies along the Inhulets, the last tributary on the right bank of the Dnipro, and along its tributaries, the Zhovta and the Saksahan, some 130—200 kilometers from the mouth of the Dnipro. They are found in a hollow some 100 kilometers long but very narrow (2—6—9 km) and are generally only prospected some 320 meters deep, although valuable iron ore was found at a depth of almost 500 meters.

The thickness of the individual layers of ore is, in the least favorable cases, 4—7 meters, but mostly 10—30, 45—65, and more rarely 100—150 meters. Before World War I deposits were estimated at 200—300 million t, which figure rose to 1245 million t by 1932. As this is superior red iron ore, the Kryvyj Rih deposit with a pure metal content of 540 million tons, far surpasses all other iron ore deposits in Eastern Europe, even if they contain more crude ore. The quality of

Table 6. Iron Deposits of Ukraine in Soviet Union

Deposit, District, Country	Iron ores: Total Deposits in Mill. t.	Iron ores: % of total Deposits in Soviet Union	Iron ores: A + B Deposits in Mill. t	Iron ores: % of A + B Deposits in Soviet Union	Iron ores: % Share of A + B in total Deposits	Quartzite: Total Deposits in Mrd. t	Quartzite: % of total Deposits of Soviet Union	Quartzite: A + B Deposits in Mrd. t	Quartzite: % of A + B Deposits in Soviet Union	Quartzite: % Share of A + B total Deposits	Total: Total ores and Quartzite in Mrd. t	Total: % of Soviet Union
Kryvyj Rih	1491	13,7	669	14,8	45	51,3	20	10,7	91,5	21	52,8	20
Kerch	2722	25	1638	36,4	60	—	—	—	—	—	2,7	1
North Caucasia	115	1,1	37	0,8	32	—	—	—	—	—	0,1	—
Other Districts	2	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
Ukraine	4330	39,8	2345	52	54	52,3	20,4	10,7	91,5	20	56,6	21
Kursk	337	3,1	175	3,9	52	203,7	79	0,9	7,3	0,4	204	76
Choper Kalachow	716	6,6	184	4,1	26	—	—	—	—	—	0,7	—
Tula-Lipets a. o.	484	4,5	219	4,8	45	—	—	—	—	—	0,5	—
Central Russia	1537	14,2	578	12,8	37	203,7	79	0,9	7,3	0,4	205,2	76,5
North	1065	9,7	28	0,6	3	0,5	0,2	0,1	0,8	20	1,5	0,5
Transcaucasia	200	1,8	178	4	87	—	—	—	—	—	0,2	—
European area of Soviet Union	7132	65,5	3129	69,4	44	256	99,6	11,7	99,6	4,5	263	98
Ural	2414	22,2	1169	26,1	48	—	—	—	—	—	24	0,9
Kasakstan, Central Asia	119	1,1	11	0,2	9	—	—	—	—	—	0,1	—
Western Siberia	415	3,8	111	2,5	27	—	—	—	—	—	0,4	—
East Siberia, Jakutia	707	6,5	71	1,5	10	—	—	—	—	—	0,7	—
Far East	94	0,9	15	0,3	16	—	—	—	—	—	0,1	—
Soviet Union in Asia	3748	34,5	1377	30,6	37	1	0,4	0,05	0,4	5	4,7	2
Soviet Union total in Mrd. t.	10,9	100	4,5	100	40	257	100	11,7	100	4,5	268	100

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3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 Ukraine RDl

Kryvyj Rih ores has always been acknowledged. They consist of 95 % haematite, with a minimum iron content of 55 % which, however, has an average of 62 %, and are characterised by their great purity. There are only the slightest traces of sulphur, the phosphorus content is 0.017—0.037 % and in the best quality ores only 0.005 %. As one of the ores in Europe with least phosphorus, the Kryvyj Rih iron ore is particularly suited to the Bessemer process. Its lumpiness is also favorable, for it makes preliminary treatment superfluous.

There is a huge deposit of approximately 50 billion t of iron quartz with an average pure metal content of 35 %. Only part can be utilised for practical purposes. A technically and economically progressive and profitable solution of the problem of getting iron from quartzites would enormously enhance the value of the Kryvyj Rih deposits for industry. The iron quartzite deposits in Kursk which partly lie in Ukrainian territory are still more significant (208 mrd. t), while deposits of iron ore only amount to 343 million t.

Kerch in the north of the Crimea has the most important deposit of ore, as far as area (2400 sq. km) and quantity of ore are concerned. It covers almost the entire peninsula, along the Strait of the same name, from the Sea of Oziv to the Black Sea. The layers of ore are not deep (2—20 meters, usually but not more than 4 meters) and can easily be mined on the surface. They are 2—20 meters thick, mostly 8—12, and in some places, however, as thin as 0,2 meters. The iron ore deposits in Kerch have been well-known for some time and have been adequately prospected. Recent estimates put these deposits at 2 722 million t, which would exceed even the rich iron ore deposits in Minnesota USA. But the average pure metal content of the almost exclusively brown iron ore in Kerch is only 34—43 %, often, indeed, less than 40 %. So that Kerch, with 245 million t of pure iron content is far behind Kryvyj Rih, and also behind the Ural deposits (411 million t in 1932, figures in table are more recent).

From the point of view of present day engineering, the quality of Kerch iron ores is not very high. Its average phosphor content of 1 % means that the Thomas process only can be applied in the manufacture of steel, but it also contains 1.6 % sulphur and what is worse, up to 0.05 % arsenic, which may cause breaks in pig iron when cooled and which makes it worthless for further processes. Treatment is therefore costly. It is also a disadvantage that the ore should be so crumbly and sandy, which means that it must be made into briquettes or mixed with better ores. In any case the ores must first be roasted.

Among the iron ore producing countries of the world, Ukraine comes fifth, along with France (4 mrd. t), USA (83.9 mrd. t), England (6.2 mrd. t), Russia (6—6.5 mrd. t). The iron ores of Kryvyj Rih are excellent in quality, but those of Kerch inferior. If they could be properly utilised, the position of Ukraine would be greatly strengthened, and the solution of the problem of iron quartzite would make it one of the first iron ore countries in the world.

6. Manganese Ores, Tin, Zinc etc.

There are small deposits of manganese ore in Ukraine at the following places: Labynska, the basin of the Bila and the Laba, at Khoshchevatka, district Haysyn in Podolia and in the southeast corner of the Galician Carpathians at the sources of the White and Black Cheremosh, where they were discovered a few years ago in inaccessible mountainous land. But Ukraine's eminent position as a country of manganese ore is due to Nikopil.

Nikopil, which has the richest deposit of manganese ore in the world, lies quite near the right bank of the Dnipro, about 230 km (200 km as crow flies) from the mouth of the river. It covers an area of about 150 sq. km. and comprises two sections, the western having richer deposits of better quality and being less worked than the eastern. Surveying by Prof. Vasylenko and others in the years 1928—1932 brought a great change in the exploitation of Nikopil manganese ore. Estimates of deposits were increased fourfold from about 100 million t. (see Table 7).

Compared with Chiaturi, the famous Georgian deposit of manganese ore in the Caucasus, Nikopil contains much more

Table 7. Most Important Deposits of Manganese Ore in World.

Area of occurrence.	Deposits in Mill.			Chemical Analysis in %				
	Total	Prospected		Mn	Fe_2O_3	Ph	SiO_2	H_2O
			Nikopil:					
Nikopil	399	90	for export	1. 48—50	1,5—2	0,19	10—12	10—12
Labynska	38	34		2. 42—43	2 —2,5	0,20	15—16	13—15
Carpathian	10	—	for domestic use	1. 46—48	—	0,20	11	12
Khoshchevatka	8	3		2. 40—42	—	0,20	16	15
Ukraine	455	127		—	—	—	—	—
				1. 52	—	0,16	8—9	6—8
Chiaturi (Georgia)	166	163	Washore	2. 51	—	—	9	—
				3. 50	—	—	10	—
Soviet Union	656	330	crude ore	1. 48	1,5—2	0,18	12	8—10
				2. 45	—	—	15	10—12
% Share of Ukraine	70	40		1. 50—52	3—6	0,11	5—8	0,4—1,2
India	—	100	India	2. 47—48	5—6	0,15	8—10	—
			Shandur	38—42	13—17	0,04	2—3	1—3
Brazil	180	34		48—50	3,5—4,5	0,125	4—5	8—10
Gold Coast	39	13		1. 48—52	5—6	0,14	5—7	3
				2. 44—47	7—10	0,175	5—7	—
South Africa	—	48		1. 48—50	5—9	0,037	2—4	—
				2. 45—48	11—14	0,037	2—4	—
Egypt	—	12		34—37	20—25	0,11	3—4	2—4
Marocco-Algiers	33	2		—	—	—	—	—

ore (399 as against 166 million t), so its total manganese content is higher (143—190) compared with 72 million t, in spite of smaller pure metal content in some mines (35—50 % compared with 47—53 %). But Chiaturi has a considerably higher proportion of ore that can be got at than Nikopil, where ³/₄ of the entire deposits come under Category C, "possible ores". So that the Georgian deposit comes first as a result of this fact and of its better quality and the more favorable mining conditions. Conditions of production are less favorable in Nikopil than in the Georgian ore-fields. It is true that the ore does not lie so deep in the earth, the top layer being only 6.5—25 meters thick. But its softness (clay, and also sand) means that mines have got to be built out with wood which must be brought from a distance. The thickness of the layers varies from 1.5 to 4 meters (in Chiatury 2—5 meters). The quality of the manganese ores at Nikopil is inferior to that of the deposits in Georgia and India. The deposits contain 90 % pyrolusit, which is the commonest manganese ore, but its consistency is often too fine, and lump ore is reckoned more valuable. The phosphor content is rather higher than in the two other deposits. On the whole, Nikopil ore is of a quality equal to that in other countries.

As a manganese ore country, Ukraine is first in the world with a quantity of more than 450 million t. Its manganese deposits are about 70 % of those in USSR and about 40 % of the total world resources.

Ukraine does indeed possess an abundant choice of other non-precious metals, but not in any great quantity. The mercury at Mykytivka in the Donets Basin is the only deposit in Ukraine that can be utilised for industry, and till recently, the only one in the USSR. In 1926 deposits were estimated at more than 6 000 t down to a depth of 320 m, an estimate that has recently been doubled. Naholnyj Krjaz where such metals are also found, though in small quantities, is in the Donets Basin, too. Deposits of copper ore are insignificant, while the zinc and lead ores at Sadon and Karachaj on the upper reaches of the Kuban are of importance. They are estimated at more than 3 million t. This figure also contains some silver. The reports of the discovery of rich deposits of nickel on the limans of the Dnister in 1936 have not been seriously confirmed. Northern Caucasia has numerous deposits of non-precious metals, but little surveying has been done. According to what is known now, they do not, as a rule, contain any large quantities, but they might possibly play a certain rôle in the future.

7. Salt and Phosphorites

Cooking salt deposits occur every where in Ukraine, all three varieties of occurrence and of exploitation being present. It is difficult to estimate the total amount; in any case, Ukraine is one of the countries most rich in salt, even if it comes after the USA and Germany.

There is a rich deposit of rock salt in the north-west area of the Donets Basin, near Artemivske (formerly Bakhmut) and Slovianske in a wide hollow, distributed over an area of more than 1 500 sq. km. The thickness of the various strata of salt amounts to 30—40 m, the salt is extraordinarily pure (98 % NaCl), and uniform in composition. Recent estimates put the deposits at 100—120 mrd. t.

The rock salt deposit at Solotvyna, on the Tysa in Carpatho-Ukraine cannot be compared with the enormous deposits at Bakhmut. It is, however, quite extensive — 2.2 km long, 1.7 km broad, the depth being unknown, but at any rate more than 300 m. The salt layers are 8—30 m thick, and the percentage of impurities is low (2—4 %). Rock salt is also found on the Galician northern slopes of the Carpathians, very probably in great quantities, e. g. at Stebnyk, between the Dnister and Stryj; but these deposits have neither been prospected nor exploited.

Table-salt is got near Slovianske, from lakes, wells, and boreholes. In Galicia there are about 180 deposits from Latske near Peremyshl to the Bucovina, divided into six geographical groups. Numerous deposits also occur on the south slopes of the Carpathians.

Brine salt is got in the Crimea from about 300 salt lakes. Another 500 lie on the north-west coast of the Black Sea, round Kinburn. 7 limans between the Dnister and the Boh furnish salt, as did also the salt lakes in the Taman peninsula in the Kuban area.

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDI Ukraine RDI

The salt lakes at Henycheske on the Sea of Oziv and those at Batalpashynske in the Kuban area contain glauber salt. /135

There are fair quantities of potash salts in Galicia, on a strip 250 km long, stretching from Dobromyl (south of Peremyshl) parallel to the Carpathians to Kosiv. The richest deposits are at Kalish and Stebnyk, over an area of 250 sq. km. The salt strata are usually 4—18 m or 8—10 m thick.

Estimates of deposits vary between 100 million t with a pure content (K_20) of 10—12 mill. t and 250 mill. t with 20 mill. t pure content. Even disregarding higher estimates (up to 450 mill. t.) this would represent 0.03—0.06 % of world store, of which Germany owns 55 %. The potash compounds in Galicia are sylvinite (18—35.5 % pure potash), kaynite (21.7 % K_2O) and glauconite (7—8 % K_20) which appear distributed over a large area in Dnipro - Ukraine, at Kamjanets and in the north-east.

There are three or four deposits of phosphorites viz. on the Dnister and its left-bank tributaries in Galicia and in eastern Podolia, in the district of Chernyhiv and on the north-west edge of the Donets Basin, particularly round Izjum. In Galicia most of the phosphorites lie on a strip on the right bank of the Dnister, stretching for 65 km from Dovhe to the Zbruch; deposits are estimated at 33 mill. t. In (Eastern) Podolia they cover a large area (about 5 000 sq. km), particularly on the Ushytsia, a northern tributary, and on the Dnister itself. They extend into the Ukrainian districts of Bessarabia. In 1923 deposits were estimated at 16.4 million t., the pure content amounts to an average of 35.5—36 %, and the excellent quality has long been known.

The deposit at Krolevets, on the right bank of the Desna in the area of Chernyhiv contains 1 million t. phosphorites with a pure content of 20—30 %, mining conditions being more favorable. The deposits in the Donets Basin are more extensive and amount to 30 mill. t., but their low percentage of pure content (17—22 %) detracted much from their value. It is only the technical discoveries of recent years that have restored value to inferior phosphorites.

The entire deposits of phosphorites in Ukraine amount to 62 mill. t. Like the potash, they are used in the manufacture of artificial manure. For a country that has got to produce such great quantities of agricultural produce, these deposits are none too big.

8. Varieties of Earth and Rock

Few countries have as much and as varied alumina as Ukraine. The largest deposit of fire-proof alumina is at Chasovyj-Yar in the Donets Basin, which amounts to 90 mill. t. There are other important deposits at Vladimirivka, Olenivka, Hozdory, Pjatykhatka etc.

Kaolin is the most valuable of all alumina and it is to be found on an enormous strip stretching from the marshes of Volynia in the north-west almost parallel to the Dnipro on its right bank to the orefields at Kryvyj Rih, then crossing to the left bank till to about 60—70 km distance from the Sea of Oziv.

Kaolin is found at about 315 places. On an average it is not more than 10 meters deep. The thickness of the various strata varies from a few meters to 106 m. The deposits are estimated at 120 mill. t. which would correspond to 40—50 mill. t. of pure content. The quality of the different deposits varies very much, but is often high.

9. Other Mineral Wealth

Other minerals to be found include ochre in large quantities and of excellent quality at several places, above all at Kryvyj Rih. Considerable deposits of gypsum, specially in the Bakhmut Hollow and in Podolia, limestone of all kinds from the highest quality to the commonest, is found almost all over Ukraine. Dolomites of excellent qualities are concentrated in the Donets area, marl for Portland cement etc. occurs in the Donets Basin, in Podolia and the Kyiv district and in inexhaustible quantities in the northern hollow, above all at Kupjanske and Artemivske.

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine RDl

Different varieties of granite are to be found on the Ukraine crystal plateau and also in Carpatho-Ukraine, as are also eruptive rocks in general. We mention labrodit, the largest deposit of its kind in Europe between Korosten and Zhytomir in Volynia, Volynian basalt, andesit in Carpatho-Ukraine, and also feldspat, mica-schist, and quartz, sand for the production of glass etc. 135

Graphite of good quality occurs in considerable quantities in Podolia on the Boh, there being more important deposits at Kryvyj Rih; and in the district of Mariupil and Berdjanske.

They have not been thoroughly prospected. Deposits have been estimated at approximately 100 mill. t. and mostly consist of slaty kinds of crystal graphite such as are used in metallurgy (fireproof pots etc). The percentage of pure graphite varies between 17 and 25 %. (in the better deposits even 60—70 %). In this and in other respects the graphite of Ukraine is like that of Passau and is, in quality, inferior only to few (perhaps to that of Ceylon and Madagascar).

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Industry and Mining

1. Fundamental Facts

433 It lay in the nature of her situation as a colony of Russia that only those branches of industry in Ukraine were promoted which utilised raw materials that were locally abundant and difficult to transport over long distances. It was impossible, for instance, to develop a modern textile industry. Even if it cost twice as much to transport cotton from New York to Moscow via Murmansk as via Odessa and Kharkiv and even if the industrial area in Central Russia had to import coal from the Donets Basin, Ukraine was nevertheless dependent on Russia for manufactured goods.

433 311 464 Labor was originally more plentiful in Russia than in Ukraine. The population on the upper reaches of the Volga and the Oka was more apt to seek employment in trade and industry, as the soil in those areas yielded poorer harvests and the percentage of forest land was higher. In Ukraine, on the other hand, farmers were loth to leave the good Black Earth. And that is why it was long impossible there to make labor a decisive factor in placing industries. This could be done only much later in the larger towns, and even then it made little difference to the general trend. But it is characteristic for Ukraine that sources of raw material have determined the location of industry, coal-mines and hydro-electric works being geographically fixed and altogether there are more industries, the raw materials of which are more difficult to transport than their products. The proportion of plants whose location is determined by the presence of raw materials is three times higher in Ukraine than in the industrial states of Central and Western Europe.

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine RDl

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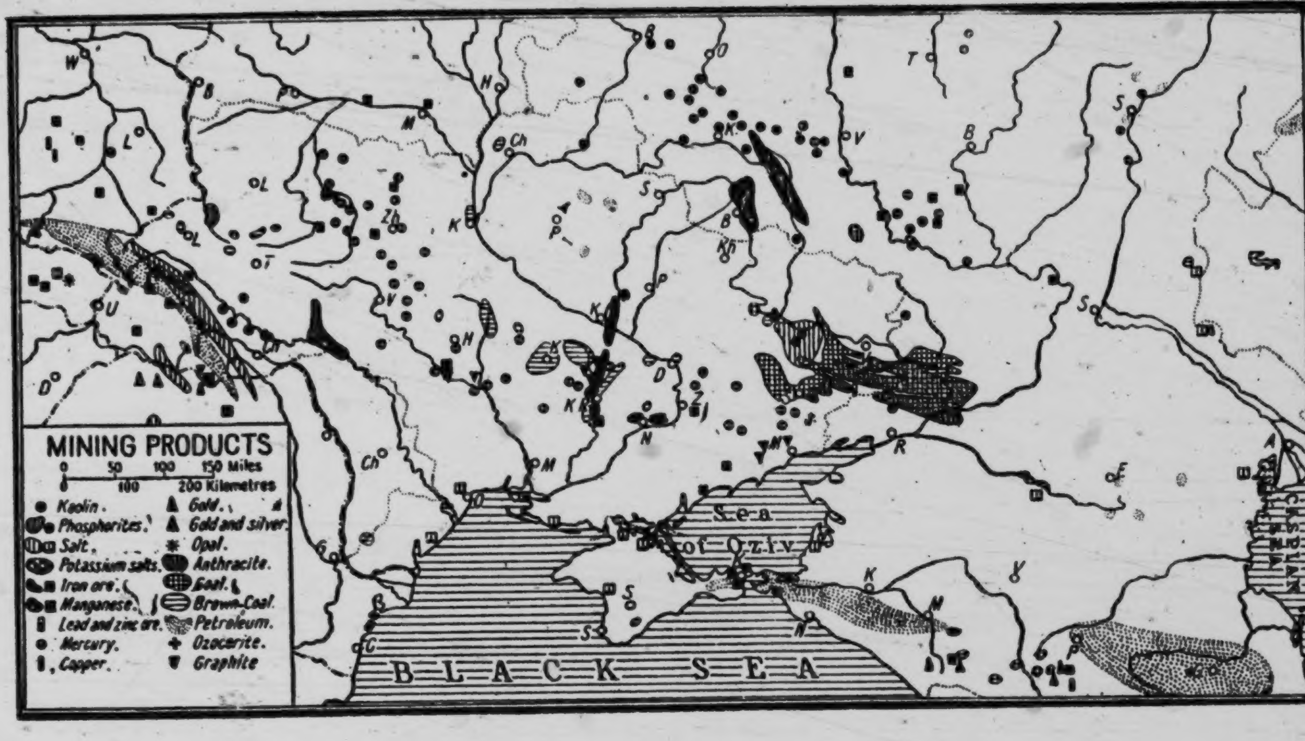
MINING PRODUCTS
0 50 100 150 Miles
0 100 200 Kilometres
Kaolin.
Phosphorites.
Salt.
Potassium salts.
Iron ore.
Manganese.
Lead and zinc ore.
Mercury.
Copper.
Gold.
Gold and silver.
Opal.
Anthracite.
Coal.
Brown-Coal.
Petroleum.
Ozocerite.
Graphite
BLACK SEA
Sea of Oziv
CASPIAN SEA

Table 8. Production of

316

	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879
Donets Basin	256	330	595	617	573	842	957	801	1130	1253
Dombrowa Basin	330	301	298	336	402	408	423	612	1070	1085
Russian Empire	700	830	1100	1200	1300	1700	1900	1800	2500	2900
% of Donets Basin	37	41	54	52,5	44	49	50	44,5	45	43

	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902
Donets Basin	3930	4850	4890	5110	6790	7570	9220	11*	10,9	10,7
Dombrowa Basin	3160	3350	3680	3660	3760	4090	3970	4,2	4,2	4,3
Russian Empire	7600	8800	9100	9400	11,3*	12,3	14	16,2	16,6	16,5
% of Donets Basin	52	55	53,5	54,5	60,5	61,5	66	68	65,5	65

	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923
Donets Basin	25,3	27,6	26,6	28,7	25	9	5,6	4,6	5,8	7,2	8,1
Kusnetsk Basin	0,8	0,9	1	1,2	1,1	0,9	0,9	0,9	0,8	0,9	0,8
Soviet Union	29,1	31,8	30,9	34,5	31,3	12	7,2	7,2	8,2	11,3	12,7
% of Donets Basin	87	87	86	83	80	75	78	64	70,5	63,5	64

* From 1900 in Million t total for Empire from 1897.

2. Branches and Areas of Industry

327 The Donets Basin is the center of the heavy iron industry,
311 heavy engineering, the non-ferrous industry and the production of chemicals on a large scale. The many electricity and overland generating plants that have sprung up almost contiguously utilise coal waste as a rule and have a considerable capacity, the largest being those at Shterivka and Zujivka with 150 000 KW each. There was a lively demand for machinery, above all for agricultural machinery, while the metal industry never reached the same level. Before World War I Ukraine contributed scarcely 17 % of all those employed in the manufacture of metal wares in Russia, though it supplied $^2/_3$ — $^3/_4$ of the raw materials required by the heavy iron industry throughout Russia. In 1934 the Ukrainian share in the manufacture of iron ore was constantly declining, so that metal goods of even fairly simple nature had to be imported.

Coal in Donets Basin

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1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892
1414	1495	1740	1758	1665	1883	2110	2060	2500	3110	3000	3140	3570
1285	1400	1400	1600	1665	1800	1990	2050	2420	2480	2470	2600	2890
3300	3500	3800	3900	3900	4300	4600	4600	5400	6200	6000	6200	7000
43	42,5	46	45	42,5	44	46	45	46,5	50	50	50,5	51

1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915
11.6	13	12,9	14,2	18,2	17,9	17.7	16,7	19,9	21,4	25,3	27,6	26,6
4,8	4,8	3,6	4,6	5,4	5,6	5,7	5,5	5,8	6,4	6,9	3,8	—
17,9	19,6	18,7	21,7	26	25.9	26	24.9	28,4	31,1	36	35.6	30,9
65	66,5	69	65,5	70	69	68	67	70	69	70	78	86

1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
11.8	12,5	19,6	24,6	27,3	31	36,5	40,9	44	51	61,4	69,6	77,5	77,5
1	1	1,8	2,6	2,6	3	3,6	5,5	7,3	9,2	11,6	14,1	17,3	17,8
16.3	16,5	25,8	32.3	35.5	40	47,8	56,8	64,4	76,3	93,6	109	126	128
72,5	76	76	76	77	77,5	76,5	72	68,5	67	65,5	64	61,5	60,5

327 The largest centers of production in the Donets Basin are
311 Stalino, Makijivka, Kramatorska, Voroshylivhrad, Horlivka, Kon-stantynivka, Artemivske (Bakhmut), Slovianske etc. Mariupil is the exporting harbor.

At the Dnipro Bend there are, among others, plants for best
327 quality steel, ship-building yards, electro-technical factories and
377 largescale chemical works. The gigantic power-station at Dnipro-
311 petrivske has a capacity of 558 000 KW. The main centers of production are Dnipropetrivske, Zaporizha, Dniprodshershinske, Kryvyj Rih and Nikopil. The exporting harbors are Mykolajiv and, for some products, Kherson.

The Donets Basin and the Dnipro Bend are frequently combined to-day and represent a many-sided economy on a wide basis of raw materials and power. As a combine it is contrasted with the Ural-Kusnetsk Combine (above all as regards coal and iron). Kerch with its ore mines and heavy industry gravitates towards the Donets Combine.

257 The central agrarian section of Ukraine, on both banks of
311 the Dnipro, includes industries producing foodstuffs and luxuries, above all the sugar industry. There are also plants here for manufacturing leather and medium-heavy machinery. Factories are much smaller than in the coal and ore area and the many small power-stations run on brown coal and peat.

381 The Carpathian area is the home above all of the chemical
311 industry and the capacity of the power-stations, usually run by gas and expensive imported coal, seldom by the abundant water power available, exceeds 10 000 KW only in Lviv — Uzhhorod, being used principally for lighting the towns. Industrialisation is densest on the oil-fields of Drohobych.

371 In the foreland of the Caucasus electric plants are run by
311 petroleum only and water power is not exploited at all. The small factories (petroleum, tobacco, leather and machinery of medium weight) are too scattered to form an industrial area in the strict sense.

392 The large towns form industrial centers that are not dependent
311 on the presence of raw materials. Kharkiv has heavy engineering plants for transportation requirements, factories for agricultural machinery, electro-technical factories, and workshops for precision instruments and machinery. These are large enterprises, built recently and attached to big power-stations (Chuhujiv 25 000 KW), so that Kharkiv may be classed with the industrial area in the vicinity.

39 Kyiv builds ships and produces chemical and electro-technical
311 equipment and has chemical and textile plants as well as sugar and foodstuffs factories. In Odessa the same factories are represented and there are also canneries, leather works and plants for producing cinema installations. In addition, there are workshops that specialise in the structure of motor-cars and planes. In the other towns in the country enterprises for this or that industry have been established.

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3. Production of Coal and Iron

See Table 8 and diagrams 3 and 4

Coal mining in the Donets Basin dates from the 18th century, but at first only in order to supply the needs of the towns on the coast. It was only after railways were built in the sixties that the coal production of the Donets Basin developed. The railway as a wholesale consumer accounted for 28—35 %, and in some years 41—44 % of the production. In 1860, 100 000 tons of coal were mined; but this rapidly increased six to tenfold and soon exceeded the figure for the Dombrova Basin, the rival area in Imperial Russia.

The second factor which promoted development was the opening up of the iron ore area of Kryvyj Rih in the eighties. In 1884 the Donets Basin production represented 43.5 % of the production for the whole of Russia, a figure which had risen by 1914 to almost 70 %. During this period Donets Basin coal production was increased six-fold, while that of all other areas in Russia has increased three times, and world production two and a half time. In 1913 the Donets Basin produced 25.3 million t, almost 2 % of world production which placed this coalfield fifth among the coal-producing areas of the world.

In 1927 the pre-war figure was once more reached.

During the Five Year Plans it increased considerably as the remote areas where new industries were founded had to be supplied from the Donets, at least indirectly by exporting the products of heavy industry. The production for 1933—37 was 67 million t, more than two and a half times as much as the pre-war figure and 6 % of the world-production which had only increased $^{1}/_{10}$ since 1913.

In spite of this great absolute increase, the share of Ukraine in the total production of USSR steadily declined, from 77 % in 1927/28 to 60.5 % in 1937. This was mainly due to the forced increase in non-Ukrainian mines. As a result of shifting industrial centers east, the production of the Kusnetsk Basin alone rose in the period 1913—37 from 0.8 million t. to almost 18 million t., i. e. twenty-two fold while in the Donets Basin it increased only threefold. Capital investments were naturally correspondingly

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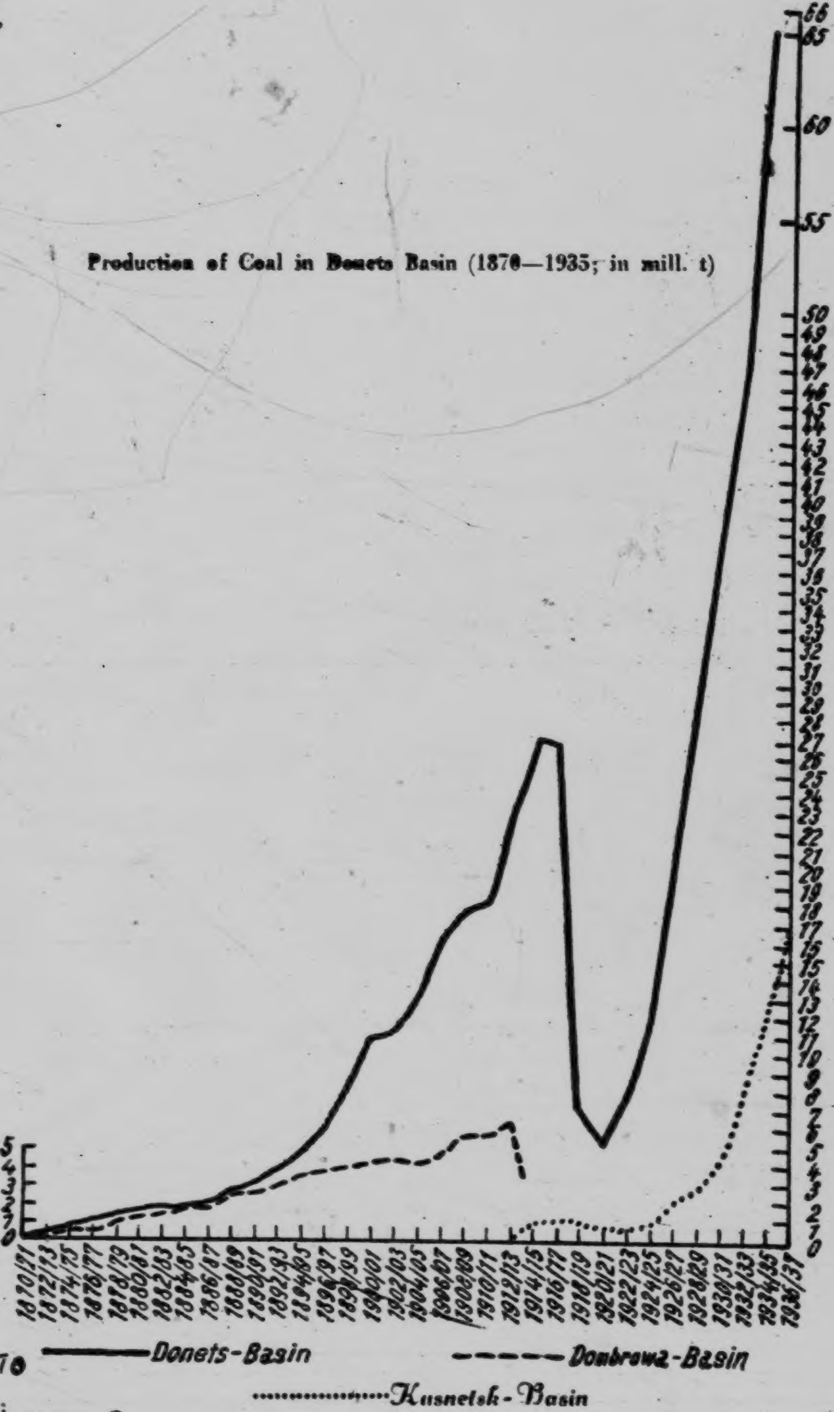

Production of Coal in Donets Basin (1870—1935; in mill. t)

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Diagram 3

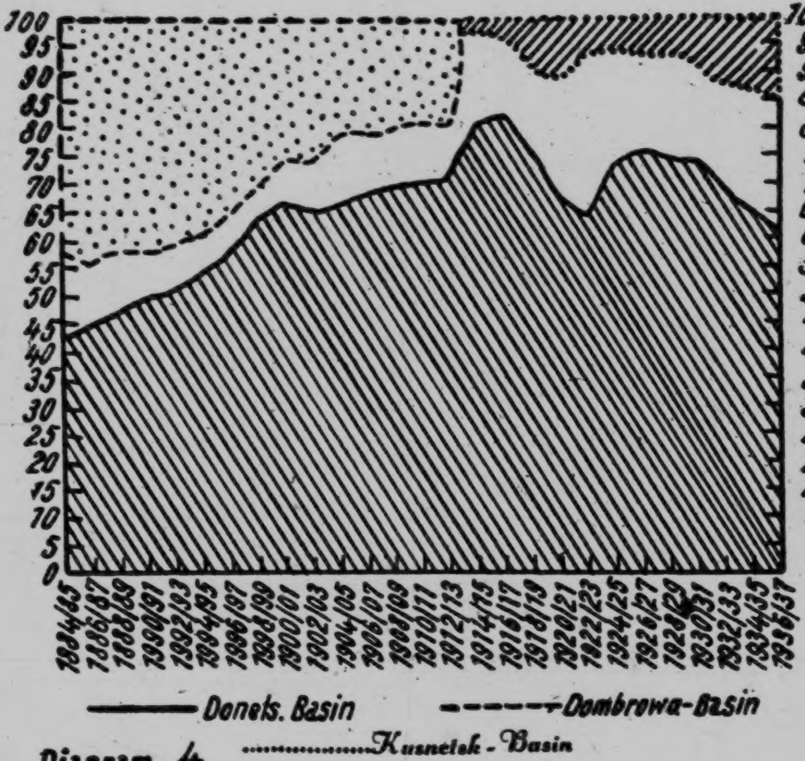

Diagram 4.

Share of Donets Basin in the coal production of Russia (1884—1937)

higher in the Kusnetsk area, where the output capacity of a mine was 1.44 million t, or twice as much again as the corresponding figure for the Donets Basin (640 000 t).

The production of iron ore was developed from the Donets Basin because of the propinquity of coal. In 1868 Ukraine contributed scarcely 1 % of the total Russian production of 650 000 t. A change took place when the resources of Kryvyj Rih began to be exploited in the eighties. In a short time the figures for Ukraine exceeded those for Russia and Poland and, in twenty years' time, even those for the rich ore fields in the Ural. In the last year before World War I Kryvyj Rih with 6.4 million t. contributed 90 % of the steadily rising iron-ore production of Ukraine, and more than ²/₃ of the amount for

Table 9. Production of Iron Ore in

	1868	1870	1873	1878	1880	1882	1883	1885	1987	1888
Ukraine	5	22	45	65	74	83	91	115	164	229
Ural	441	467	505	549	629	580	577	655	737	806
Russian Empire	660	800	900	920	1050	1000	1000	1100	1270	1450
% of Ukraine	$^{3}/_{1}$	3	5	7	7	8½	9	10½	13½	16

	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909
Ukraine	3440	2375	2345	2740	3575	3560	3590	4020	4090	3755
Ural	1650	1765	1300	1105	1035	1380	1240	1105	1080	1155
Russian Empire	6100	4700	4000	4200	5100	5400	5300	[illegible]	5500	5100
% of Ukraine	56½	50½	58½	65½	70	65½	67½	72	74½	73½

	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927
Ukraine	350	—	—	10	100	170	450	1280	2300	3800
Ural	400	150	130	90	130	195	400	870	945	940
Soviet Union	1300	180	150	150	260	400	900	2200	3400	5000
% of Ukraine	27	—	—	6	38½	42½	50	57½	67½	76

Russia, almost 6 % of that for Europe and more than 3.5 % of the world production of ore. It stood 4th in the iron-ore areas of the world, though well behind Lake Superior and the Lorraine-Luxembourg area.

In Kerch it was only towards the end of the 19th century that production became noteworthy, but even then it did not reach ½ million t. Pre-war figures were not reached till 1930: but the ratio of this contribution to the entire production declined for the same reason as in the Donets Basin. From 1929—1932 it was about pre-war level (72.5 %), but in 1937 it had sunk to about the level of the Donets coal (60.5 %) though two and a half times as much ore was actually produced. In the years 1933—37 the quantity produced amounted to 14.6 million t, i. e. 10 % of the world production. Kerch therefore came third in the iron-ore areas of the world (after USA with 39 and France with 33 million t., and before Sweden with 8.5 million t and England with 11.5 million t.).

Ukraine (1868—1937; in 1000 tons and %)

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1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	970	1245	1925	2120	3065
—	20	—	26	29½	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899
344	376	472	560	650	1210	—	1380	—	1620
—	1007	—	970	1030	2900	—	4100	—	5800
—	1900	—	2100	2200	33½	—	47	—	53

1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917
4260	5020	5780	6850	4800	6870	4800	4400	5500	3800
1180	1530	1850	1875	1085	1875	1085	—	800	510
5800	7000	8200	9300	6300	9200	6100	5700	6500	4500
73½	72	70½	76	74½	74½	78½	77	84½	84½

1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
4700	5700	7800	8000	8400	9300	13700	17000	17100	17200
1100	1770	1800	2000	3200	4100	6200	7680	(8300)	8700
6500	8000	10400	10700	12200	14500	21800	27100	27900	27800
72½	71	75	75	69	64	63	62½	(61½)	62

1886 marked the beginning of the production of manganese ore in Nikopil which reached 276 000 t in 1913, i. e. 22 % of the production for Russia and almost 12 % of that for the world. Ukraine came third after Georgia and India. In the year 1932/33 it even topped world manganese ore production with 483 000 t (the figure for the world being 1.5 % million, to which Nikopil contributed 32 %, Chiatury 20 %, India 15 %). From 1934 it slid down to the second place, though production actually increased to approximately 1 million in the years 1935—37 (more than a quarter of the world production)

4. Heavy Industry

Heavy iron industry in Ukraine has unparalleled resources of raw material at its disposal. It is true that the coal reserves in the Donets Basin do not reach those of the heavy industries in the Ural and Western Siberia (70 milliard t, of which scarcely ¼ is of good coking quality, compared with 250 milliard t, 327

Table 10. Nikopil in World

316

	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899
Nikopil	9	11	29	73	58	51.	46	48	60	97
Chiaturi	140	102	170	70	97	170	160	320	280	549
Russian Empire	162	114	200	143	157	222	208	370	342	648
Nikopil %	5,5	9,5	14,5	50	38,5	23	22	13	17,5	15
India	—	—	—	—	12	16	58	75	61	89
Brazil	—	—	—	—	2	5	14	16	26	65
World Production	375	260	375	310	385	395	490	630	590	990
Nikopil %	2.5	4	8	23	15	12,5	9.5	7,5	8	10
Nikopil's place in world production	—	—	4.	1.	2.	2.	3.	3.	3.	2.

	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923
Nikopil	239	276	227	187	100	9	0,5	6	42	111
Chiaturi	663	258	258	204	26	55	121	—	53	194
Soviet Union	907	537	472	393	126	66	125	12	103	313
Nikopil %	26,5	51,5	48	47,5	79,5	14,5	0,5	50	40	35,5
India	694	418	665	600	526	547	748	690	482	706
Brazil	184	289	503	533	393	206	354	276	341	236
Gold Coast	—	—	4	32	31	36	44	7	67	142
Egypt	—	—	—	—	—	49	78	55	104	132
World Production	1870	1410	1860	2080	1750	1160	1160	1180	1220	1750
Nikopil %	13	19,5	12	9	5,5	1	—	0,5	3,5	7,5
Nikopil's place in world production	3.	3.	4.	4.	4.	—	—	—	6.	6.

327 practically all excellent coal); nevertheless, they amply suffice for the industrial needs of Ukraine.

135 Ore resources, on the other hand, are considerably richer in
316 Ukraine. The first-class deposits at Kryvyj Rih alone are only a little less than the equally excellent deposits in the Ural (1.2 milliard t, compared with 1.4 milliard t), but as the percentage prospected is low (30 compared with 52 %), it has reserves for the future in its thick seams of iron quartzite. The iron content of the Kryvyj Rih ore being higher, it has greater resources of pure iron metal (540 million t) than the Ural (411 million t). To this we must add the iron-ore deposits at Kerch (2.7 milliard t). The manganese resources of the Donets Combine are the largest in the world (400 million t.).

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Production of Manganese Ore.

1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
90	66	57	34	59	149	162	272	180	151	178	202	239	276
661	370	415	377	332	342	826	678	117	612	554	469	578	966
755	443	479	414	396	498	994	956	302	765	733	674	820	1245
12	15	12	8,5	15	30	16,5	28,5	59,5	20	24,5	30	29	22
130	123	160	174	153	251	579	917	685	655	814	681	643	828
108	100	157	162	208	224	121	237	166	241	254	174	155	122
1330	970	1060	940	920	1140	1920	2360	1290	1690	1900	1640	1740	2350
6,5	6,5	5,5	3,5	6,5	13	8,5	11,5	14	9	9,5	12,5	13,5	11,5
4.	4.	4.	4.	4.	4.	3.	3.	2.	4.	4.	3.	3.	3.

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1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
113	241	478	472	531	580	602	493	443	524	818	1037	(1270)	960
339	544	543	372	172	830	783	390	389	481	914	1180	1502	1650
459	787	1029	844	702	1410	1385	883	832	1021	1822	2385	3000	2750
24,5	30,5	46,5	56	75,5	41	43,5	56	53	51	45	43,5	(42,5)	35
816	853	1032	1147	994	1010	843	546	216	222	413	652	827	—
159	332	261	273	360	316	207	147	37	20	7	42	156	265
259	344	350	375	330	415	424	251	51	269	371	438	417	535
150	81	122	153	137	191	121	102	0,3	1	1	87	—	145
140	2770	3130	3180	2960	3770	3530	2320	1290	1740	2970	4010	4920	—
5,5	8,5	15,5	15	18	15.5	17	21	34	30	27,5	26	(26)	—
6.	5.	3.	2.	2.	3.	3.	2.	1.	1.	2.	2.	2.	—

Deposits in the Ural only come second or third, even if they suffice for the needs of the Kusnetsk at the moment. The Donets Basin is particularly well supplied with subsidiary materials for heavy industry (limestone, dolomites, fire-proof alumina and graphite), there being deposits of the kinds required at Kryvyj Rih, Mariupil and Berdjanske. The distance between ore and coal is not too great to be unprofitable, viz. 350—450 km to the Donets coal from the iron ore at Kryvyj Rih, 250—350 km from the manganese ores at Nikopil and 50—100 km between the two ore-fields. It is true that in England distances are more favorable, but they are no better than in Sweden, Germany, or France. Compared with the distance between the Ural ores and the Kusnets coal (2 000 km) conditions of propinquity are first-rate in Ukraine.

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Diagram 5. Production of iron ore in Ukraine (1870—1937; in mill t)

Diagram 6. Share of Ukraine in the production of iron ore in Russia (1887—1937)

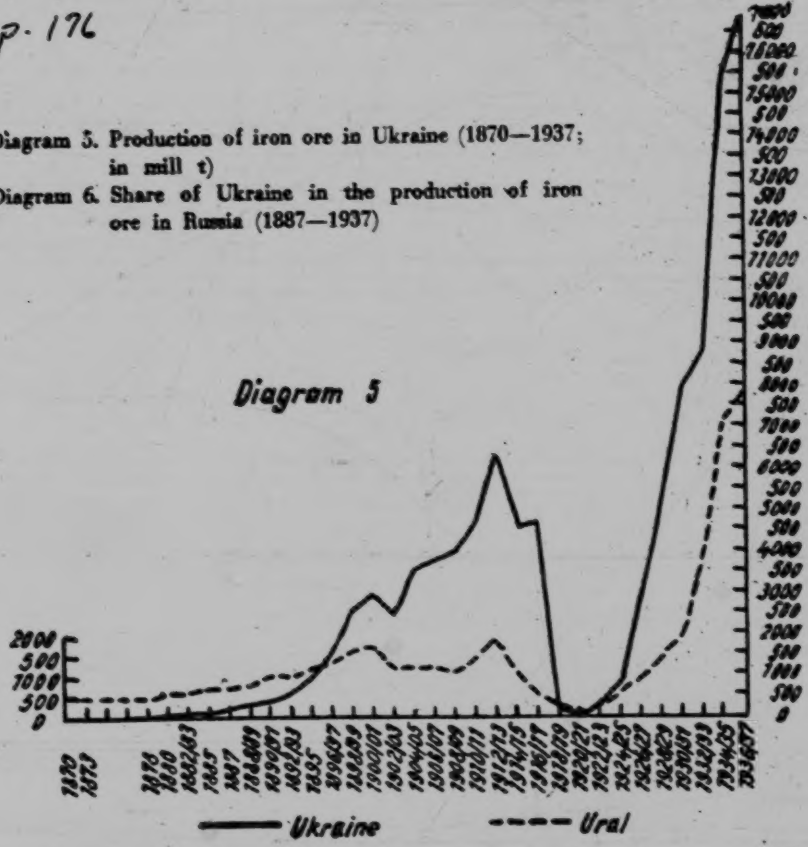

Diagram 5

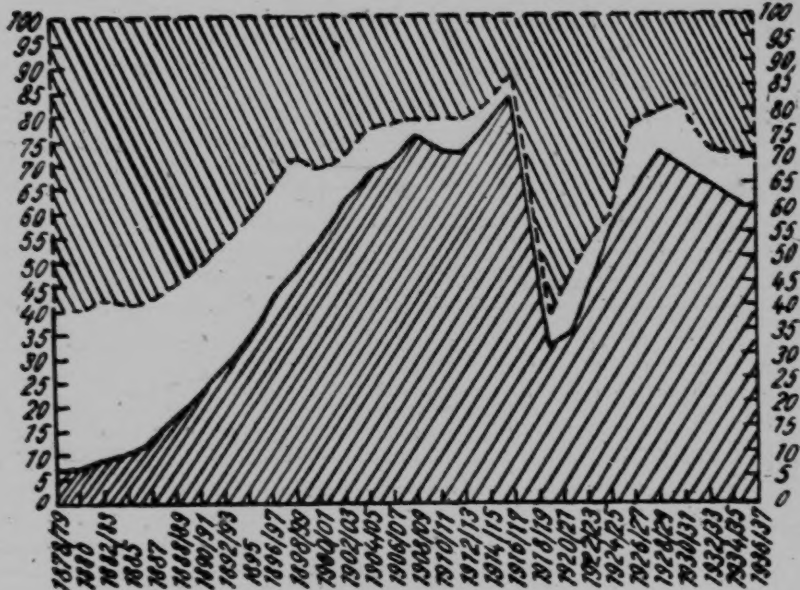

Diagram 6.

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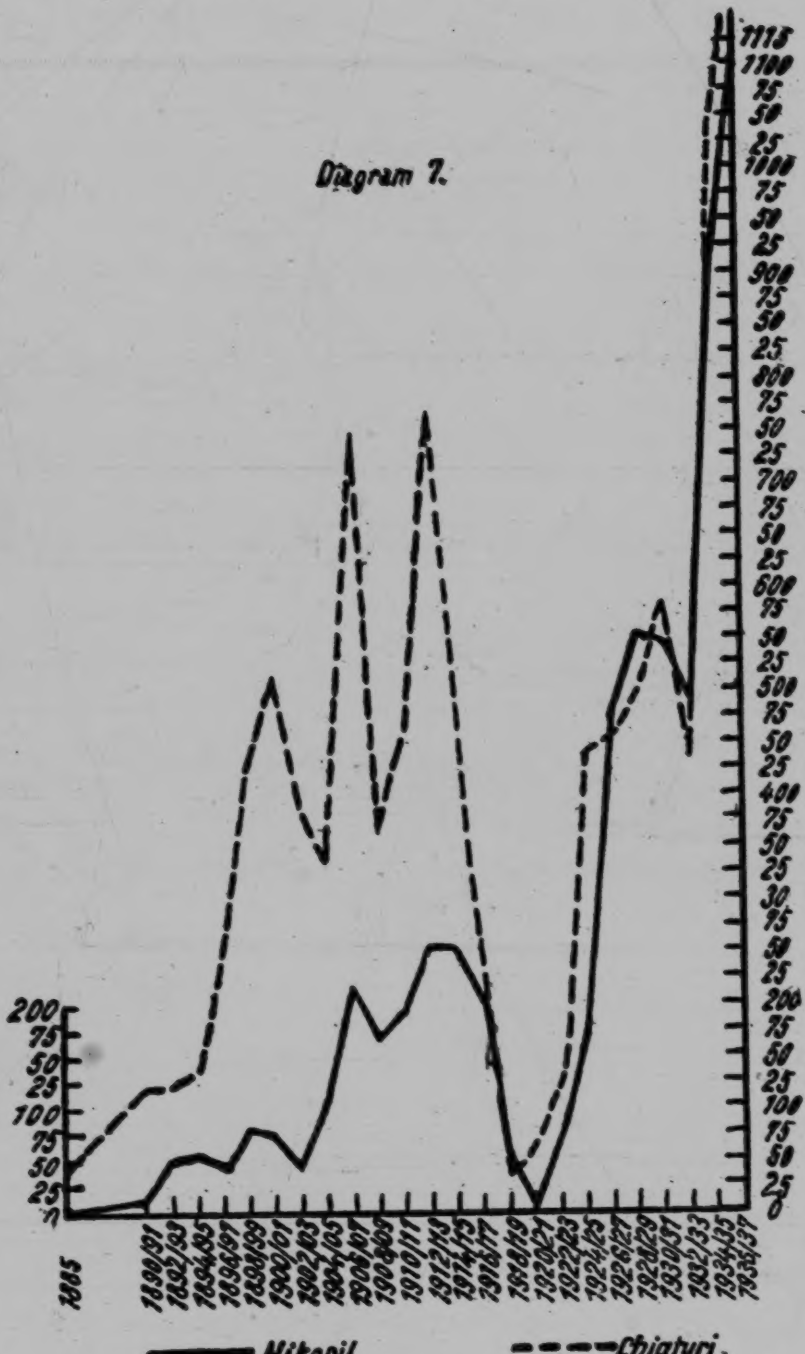
Diagram 7.



Production of manganese ore in Ukraine (1885—1937; in thousand t.)

316

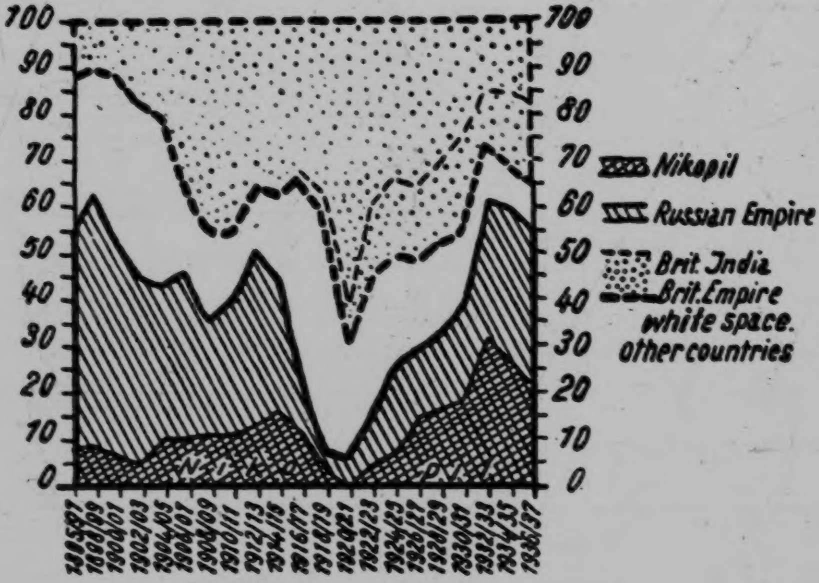


Diagram 8.

Share of Ukraine in the world production of manganese ore (1896—1937)

327
471

quity are first-rate in Ukraine. Heavy industry in Ukraine was characterised from the beginning by the capitalist features that predominated in European production: protective duties and state orders greatly furthered development without handicapping other industrial centers. Pig-iron in Ukraine gradually rose to 19 % of the amount produced in all Russia. In the period 1887—1899 fifteen blast furnaces were added to the two which had been in operation since 1872. In 1913, ten of these were in the coalfields of the Donets Basin, two in the ore areas at Kryvyj Rih and Kerch and five between them. 48 blast furnaces produced 62 000 t each per year, while the 66 blast furnaces of the Ural only produced 12 800 t each and the 14 in the Central Russian area 12 100 t each and even the 11 modern furnaces in Congress Poland produced only 37 500 t each.

The following features were characteristic for Ukraine in contrast to the industrial area of the Ural:

1) a tendency to large-scale production, 2) an inclination for mass production, 3) a striving for concentration in production,

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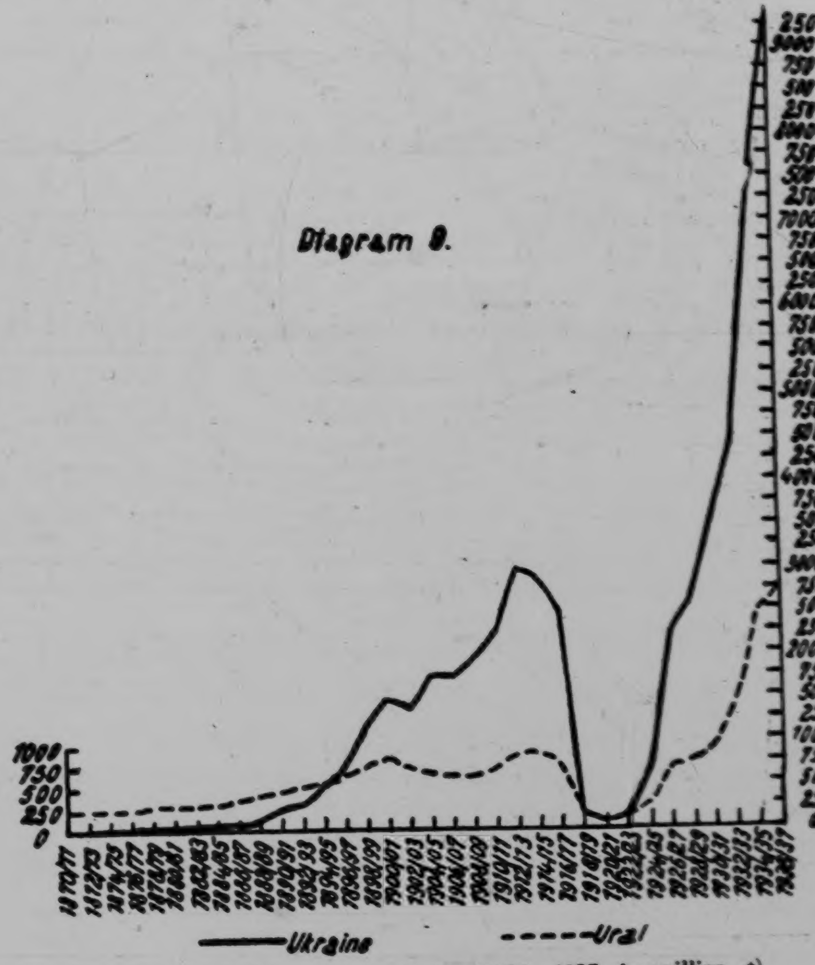

Production of pig iron in Ukraine (1870—1937; in million t).

so that fewer intermediate products were put on the market, 327 4) a tendency to form cartels or trusts, 5) much foreign capital, 471 6) a readier response to the influence of crises.

In 1887 pig-iron production in Ukraine amounted to 67 000 t 327 and exceeded the figures for its two weaker rivals and in 1896 (636 000 t) the figure for the Ural. In 1900 it supplied the half and in 1913 ²/₃ of the production in the whole of Russia and 4% of that in the world, coming fifth in the pig-iron areas. As a producer of steel, Ukraine came fifth with a total production of

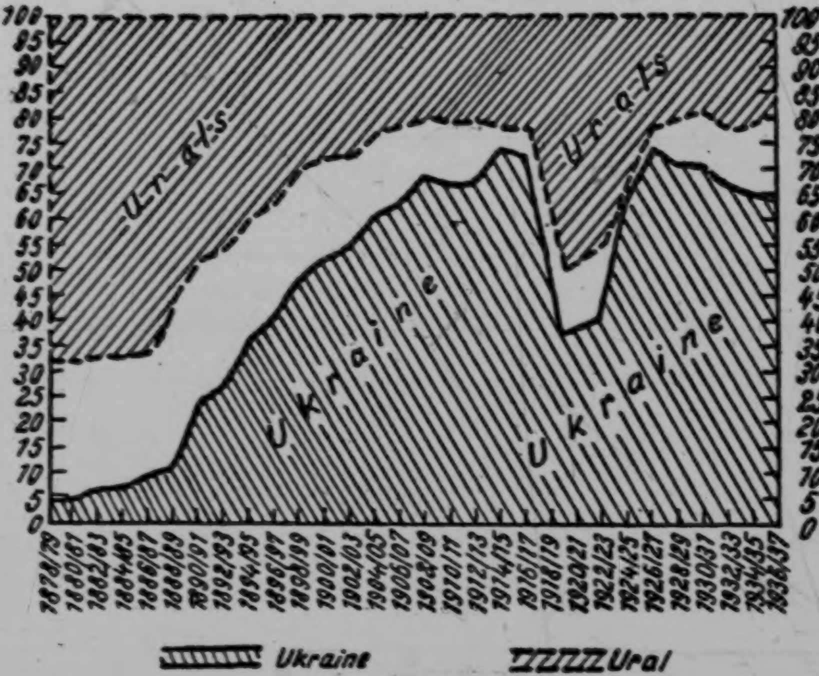

Diagram 10

Share of Ukraine in the production of pig iron in Russia (1878—1937)

2.7 million t, but it lagged farther behind the leading steel producing countries, and its contribution to the production for Russia and for the world was smaller than in the case of pig-iron.

In 1930 pre-war production levels were once more reached: but from 1933—37 pig-iron production increased to 7.5 million t, thus giving Ukraine the third place in world production (76 million t). In the production of steel and sheet iron, it remained fifth. But during the same period, the share of Ukraine in the total Soviet production declined steadily, as a result of the policy of the Five-Year-Plans which diverted more attention and capital to areas outside of Ukraine.

The tendency to increase and concentrate plants persisted after World War I. There were fewer furnaces (44 in 1933), but their average size increased from 382 cubic meters in 1913 to 513 cubic meters and their annual production to almost 100 000 t. The newer furnaces measured even 935 cubic meters. Modern

methods and branches of industry have been introduced, as for 327
instance the production of superior steel and iron alloys.

The development of the power-station on the Dnipro entailed a 371
certain change in the location of heavy industry. And the ratio 327
of coal to iron per manufactured unit which was 2.8 : 1 before World War I became 1.6 : 1, though it is still more practicable to transport high quality ores to coal than vice-versa. The Dnipro power-station, however, which is more favorably situated as regards markets and consumption is attracting new foundations of enterprises in heavy industry. This is particularly true of Zaporizha.

5. Production of Machinery and Metal Goods

Even before World War I, markets were favorable for the 392
production of machinery, above all for agricultural purposes which accounted for the work done for private customers in 126 plants. But modern, large factories were not built till after the war. New branches of production were started, e. g. for motor-cars and tractors (see huge factory in Kharkiv), machinery for mines and precision instruments while the construction of engines and railway trucks increased. The largest factories are in the Donets Combine and in the three large towns; the manufacture of agricultural machines is also distributed over other areas.

The non-ferrous metal industry is poorly represented. Between 328
1914 and 1928 there was practically no increase in the production of mercury (41 000 to 42 000 t). In the Kuban area in 1913 3 000 t zinc and 1 350 t lead were produced; in 1932 these figures were 5 000 and 3 500 t lead respectively. Under the first Five Year Plan zinc factories were erected in connection with the chemical works in Konstantynivka and aluminium works in Kichkas near the power plant on the Dnipro Bend. The annual production of the latter is estimated at 40 000 t. Fuel or power requirements play a greater part than the transportation of raw materials. The production of metal goods is confined to small factories.

6. Production of Electricity, Brown Coal and Peat

377 In the production of electric current Ukraine has not made much progress. The figure for 1932 was 2 800 million KWh (Germany 23460 mill. KWh, Italy 10230 million KWh, Switzerland 4 800 million KWh, Belgium 3 800 million KWh). Of the total current produced in Ukraine, 2 045 mill. KWh were contributed by Dnipro-Ukraine, 474 million by North Caucasia, 211 million by Western Ukraine. 80 % of the electric current in Dnipro-Ukraine is generated by coal ($^{3}/_{5}$ by coal dust), 15 % by petroleum and only 5.5 % by water-power.

In the period from 1927—1933 the great hydro-electric plant was constructed at Dnipropetrovske (Dniprelstan, Russian Dnjeprostroj) with a capacity of 558 000 KW; at the time it was the second largest hydro-electric plant in the world and was built by American engineers. It is a great feat of engineering. And yet scarcely 8 % of the available water-power has been exploited. The plant is of importance for shipping (in overcoming rapids in the river) and for the irrigation of arid areas, but also for industry. All manner of factories have sprung up round it — for the production of pig-iron, best-quality steel, metal and manganese alloys, aluminium, then chemical factories for sulfates, synthetic ammonia, soda etc.

316 The mining of brown coal started in the middle of the 19th century and produced from 1902—11 an annual average of 41 000 t. This figure sank rapidly after World War I. The industry began in the district round Kyiv as a result of the erection of sugar factories and it also supplied several agricultural machinery plants, but it could not hold its own in competition with Donets coal. After World War I, the production of brown coal was systematically promoted and in 1934 had reached 0.3 million t. It is used by power plants and for the manufacture of briquettes. A start has been made to produce benzine by hydro-genetic processes.

The production of peat has also grown from modest beginnings (annual production before 1914 only 23 000 t) to a considerable figure (1.1 million t in 1935). It is confined practically to Dnipro-Ukraine. It is utilised mainly by the agricultural indu-

stry, but also by power plants. On the whole, however, brown 316
coal and peat have no great importance for Ukraine.

7. Petroleum and Gas

The petroleum industry was founded in Galicia about the 382
middle of the 19th century. In 1909 Galicia (yearly production of 2 million t) contributed 5 % of the world production of petroleum and ranked third. But an uninterrupted decline set in, so that in 1937 its figure of 510 000 t was only 16th in world production.

The reason for this decline was the splitting up of landed property and backward methods of production. Some of the 25 refineries were on Polish territory. The crude oil is transported by rail. As the high paraffin content of Galician oil causes obstruction in pipes and as the oilfields are far from the sea and the market for this oil is in Central Europe, there has been no attempt to lay pipe lines.

In the Kuban area the figure for petroleum production was only 150 000 t in 1912, but this increased under the two first Five Year Plans to 1.8 million t in 1937. Since 1900 the petroleum is conducted by pipe from Maikop to Krasnodar, the pipe being 108 km long and able to send 900 000 t a year. In 1928 it was connected with the main pipe which is 618 km long and connects the Groznyj oil-field with Tuapse, a growing harbor on the Black Sea.

Since 1893 oil-wells have been bored in Groznyj. Shortly 315
before World War I, these wells produced 1.2 million t, and in 1925 double as much, under the first Five Year Plan almost 7 million t yearly, under the second 3.7 million t. These varying yields testify to the wealth of oil, but also to the ruthless methods of exploitation, especially where oil is allowed to spurt out in jets.

In the Kuban area and in Groznyj oil refineries are equipped 382
on modern lines. In the thirties $^3/_4$ of the entire petrol require-
ments of Russia were supplied from this area. Pipe lines 315
also connect Groznyj with Mahach Kala on the Caspian Sea,

Table 11. Production of Petroleum in

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	1880	1885	1890	1895	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905
Galicia	32	65	92	215	326	452	576	728	830	802
Maikop	—	18	30	22	4	5	7	5	—	1
Groznyj	—	—	—	463	500	573	527	537	660	707
Ukraine	32	83	122	700	830	1030	1110	1270	1490	1510
Russian Empire and Austria	590	1950	3720	6870	10700	12000	11600	11000	11600	8300
% of Ukraine	5½	4½	3¼	10¼	7¾	8½	9½	11½	13	18¼

	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
Galicia	765	705	715	736	770	813	796	720	745	675
Maikop	18	45	51	44	46	77	72	80	105	155
Groznyj	1207	1440	1504	1640	2014	2410	3022	3360	3690	4570
Ukraine	1990	2190	2270	2420	3830	3300	3890	4160	4540	5400
Soviet Union and Poland	4300	5300	6000	6800	7100	8100	9700	11300	12300	14400
% of Ukraine	46¼	41¼	37¾	35½	54	40¾	40	36¾	37	37½

315 with Armavir (490 km) and thence with Trudova in the Donets Basin (468 km). There is a plan to extend the lines to Dnipropetrovske (242 km).

In 1937 the petroleum produced in Ukraine, including Groznyj, amounted to 5 million t = 2 % of world production.

It is only Galicia that possesses any appreciable quantities of natural gas. During the thirties, production rose to about ½ million cubic meters, the greater part of which was used in the manufacture of gasoline. The longest pipes are from Dashava to Boryslav and Lviv.

8. Chemical Industry and the Production of Salt

385 The chief products of the chemical industry which grew rapidly during the First World War are acids (e. g. sulphuric acid) and bases, soda and artificial manure. In 1934 in Dnipro-Ukraine there were 103 plants employing 28 650 workers, 14 of these plants (12 730 workers) being big businesses. In Western

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Ukraine (1800—1937 in 1000 t and %)

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1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918
770	1126	1724	2086	1763	1458	1187	1114	880	750	900	860	820
1	2	3	13	23	129	152	88	74	135	45	58	80
629	642	853	931	1214	1233	1071	1288	1446	1435	1715	1782	610
1400	1770	2580	3030	3000	2820	2410	2490	2400	2320	2660	2700	1510
8900	9700	10400	11300	11500	10700	10500	10300	10100	10100	10900	9700	4400
15¾	18¼	25	26¾	26	26¼	21	24¼	23¾	23	24½	28	34¼

1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	—	20-23	24-28	29-32	33-37
663	631	557	551	530	515	511	500	—	730	770	640	520
462	959	1015	769	1160	1335	1162	1480	—	40	90	640	1180
6955	7700	8078	5160	3520	3300	3447	3000	—	1450	2940	6820	3700
8080	9290	9650	6480	5210	5250	5120	4980	—	2220	3800	8100	5400
19300	22100	22900	22000	24600	25600	27900	27800	—	5600	9700	19700	25600
41	42	42	29½	21¼	20½	18½	18	—	39½	39	41	21½

Ukraine in 1932 there were 115 small concerns employing 2 700 workers. 385

In 1913 about 950 000 t salt were produced (540 000 t rock salt, 200 000 t common salt, 210 000 brine salt). This figure was double for 1934 (7th in world production) but it was differently distributed (135 000 common salt, 225 000 brine salt, the rest rock salt). 317

Potash production in Ukraine in the years 1924—1932 reached 305 000 t with a K_2O content of 58 000 t which secured the third place in world production. (The corresponding figures for Germany were 9.9 and 1.1 million t, for France 2.5 and 0.4 million t). 385

Big-scale chemical production was concentrated partly in the Donets Basin and recently also round the Dnipro power plant. Sulphuric acid was produced at Konstantynivka (the main plant of the USSR with a production capacity of 30 000 t) and some smaller factories. In 1934, 350 000 t were produced (45 % of the total Russian production). Superphosphates were

385 also manufactured in Konstantynivka (200 000 t), in the Dnipro Combine (140 000 t) and in Kerch (80 000 t), also in Znesinnia near Lviv (capacity of 80 000 t). The total figure for 1932 was 70 000 t = 47 % of total Russian production.

Potash salts were manufactured into artificial manures in Kalush and Holyn while Slovjanske supplied among other products soda for the entire USSR (in 1932 = 375 000 t). By-products from coke and benzol were manufactured in the Donets Basin, the Dnipro Combine (in 1932 = 264 000 pitch, 250 000 ammonia, 132 000 tar) and in Kryvyj Rih, and more recently also synthetic ammonia and aniline dyes. Plants for the dry distillation of wood were erected in Kyiv and Carpatho-Ukraine (Bychkiv, Perechyn, Svaljava).

9. Agricultural Industry

257 The sugar industry is one of the oldest and best developed in the country and comes third after iron and coal in respect of the value of its products. The first sugar factory was built as early as 1825; in 1859/60 there were 250 factories, and before World War I, 197 (compared with 39 in Russia) with an annual production of 1.2 million t (compared with 290 000 t in Russia). Ukraine comes after Germany (1.9 million t) as the second sugar beet producing country in the world.

After a decline caused by the First World War, the pre-war figure was reached only at the beginning of the first Five Year Plan. In 1933/34 170 sugar factories were operating, and they produced 0.8 million t = 8.5 % of world sugar production (USA 1.6, Germany 1.4, France 0.9 million t). Most of the plants are in the Kyiv district and Podolia; 3 are in Galicia. The contribution of Ukraine to the entire production of USSR sank slowly but steadily as the sugar industry was subsidised by the state in the Black Earth district of Central Russia, Siberia and Central Asia. Progress was made in the Kuban area only, where there was not a single sugar factory up to 1914. In 1933/34 20 000 t of sugar were produced there.

256 The many small mills in Ukraine were replaced by big plants after World War I. In 1927/28 there were only 610 mills. Their

development has not been satisfactory. In Western Ukraine small mills continued to operate with an output in 1932 of about 4 million t flour (and 170 000 t barley groats). 256

The oil industry manufactured native products and is best developed in the Kuban area. In 1934, 90 000 t oil were produced, and in Dnipro-Ukraine 58 000 t = about 40 % of the total production for USSR. Large oil plants have been constructed since then in Slovjanske, Dnipropetrovske and Krasnodar. 258

More than 3/4 of the canned food required for the whole of Russia was produced in Ukraine. There are plans for a large-scale development of this industry. 255

Breweries and distilleries are not yet developed; out of a total number of 225 distilleries, 151 are in Galicia, but they supplied about 40 % of the Soviet production before the first Five-Year Plan. 274

There were about 80 tobacco factories before World War I, with an output of 9 000 t; in 1927/28 there were only 26 factories which produced more than 20 milliard cigarettes, i. e. 360 000 t = 36 — 54 % of the production for USSR. 277

10. Other Branches of Industry

Slate production in Ukraine increased from 2 000 t in 1913 to 14 500 t in 1931; the raw material was manufactured in two plants in Zavalla and Mariupil. 339

A highly developed cement industry in Novorossijske (10 plants) used to produce 633 000 t annually. In 1934, 5 of the plants there produced 1 million t, and with Dnipro-Ukraine 1.5 million t = 45 % of the total production of USSR. Ukraine must come eight in world production. In Dnipro-Ukraine and North Caucasia in the same year, 940 000 t of fire-proof earthenware and dinas bricks were produced, 924 000 t lime, 220 000 t chalk, 207 000 t alabaster and 37 000 t gypsum.

Excellent kaolin is found in Dnipro-Ukraine. In 1913 34 400 t and in 1931, 78 500 t were produced. In 1928 the 11 porcelaine factories in the country had an output of 18 700 t (1/3 of total 323

Soviet production). These, it is true, were small and old-fashioned factories; an enormous factory with an annual capacity of 40 000 t per annum has been planned and probably also erected in Mariupil. The glass industry is poorly developed, although its produce represents in value one third of the total production for the USSR. A large glass factory with an annual production capacity of 60 000 t was erected in Lysychansk. There is an extensive leather industry and a small production of paper, matches, india-rubber and textiles. The manufacture of soap, fats and chemical and pharmaceutical produce is fairly well developed. Arts and crafts which are largely practised in the family are on a very high level.

Communications

1. Conditions and Modes of Communication

489 The communication system of Ukraine is far from satisfactory, although natural conditions favor the construction of roads and railways and communication by ship. The defects in the Ukrainian network of communication are due rather to historical causes: the fact that it belongs to a state that has never been able to maintain an orderly system of communication is the main reason for the inadequacy of communication routes and facilities in Ukraine.

As the sea forms only ¼ of the entire frontier of Ukraine and as the nation was shut off from it for centuries by peoples of other races, it never became a main artery of communication for the country. The rivers, once so important as channels of communication and colonisation have declined more and more with the increasing claims made by modern transportation.

Country roads cannot be included in a system of long-distance communication. Geological conditions in some districts are unfavorable but an incapable policy of communications and economy is mainly responsible for the present situation.

2. Railroads

496 The railway is therefore the most important element in the system of communications; 209 million t were transported by rail in 1934 as compared with 5.8 million t by river and 8.5 million t by sea.

The first railroad was constructed in 1863—65 from Odessa to Balta (260 km) and was extended in 1870 to Kirovohrad. This

496 was due to the initiative of local authorities and to business circles in Odessa. A connection was desired between the centers of grain production and the harbors of Odessa and Mariupil and the Donets Basin. Moreover Odessa wanted to be linked up with Germany's long-distance communication system.

But the business world of Moscow feared an invasion by foreign capital and wanted to secure the Ukrainian market for itself. So the railway network of Ukraine was developed under the influence of Moscow. The main lines were first of all to connect Petersburg and Moscow with remote areas and the sea and to facilitate the export of grain from Ukraine from harbors on the Black Sea. So the railways in Dnipro-Ukraine run mostly north-west-south-east, which only partly corresponds to historical communications (the Viking road from the Baltic to the Black Sea). The west-east line of communication was mainly of importance within Ukraine. Long-distance connections with Central Europe were not taken into consideration at all. There was no provision made even for convenient connections between Kyiv and Kharkiv, Odessa and other large towns. Some lines to the (north) west were intended to afford facilities for transporting grain to the Baltic ports (Kyiv-Berestya; Kyiv-Kowel; Romen-Libau). The most important line connects the Donets Basin with the ore-fields at the Dnipro-Bend and also with the sugar factories in the Right Bank Region.

The development of railroads in the Donets Basin began as early as 1869 and was continued in the seventies. In the eighties the Zaporizha railway was built. If the transportation of grain had originally determined the line of communications, more importance was now laid on the transportation of coal, ore, and iron. In the second half of the seventies 5.1 million t grain, 1.5 million t coal, 0.4 million t iron and steel were transported. Round about the turn of the century (1898—1902) the corresponding figures are 10.2, 10.6, and 2 and in 1913 = 14.6, 14.6, and 3.4 million t, and, in addition, 6 million t minerals, 3.6 million t wood materials, 2.5 million t sugar beet, 1.7 million t industrial wood, 1.4 million t flour, 0.8 million t salt and 0.6 million t sugar.

The Donets Basin is a great junction, though smaller places are usually selected for the intersection of routes. Kyiv is not a proper junction, as only two lines cross each other here: in Kharkiv, on the other hand, 6 lines meet and make the town one of the most important junctions in Dnipro-Ukraine.

But Lviv is the busiest center of communication on Ukrainian territory, 9 lines radiating from it in all directions. 5 lines intersect in Stryj, Stanislaviv and Tarnopil respectively.

The network of railways in Galicia is altogether more centralised and more practically planned for strategical reasons and as a result of the separation from Hungary by the Carpathians. The main-lines run west-east (Cracow-Peremyshl-Lviv-Stanislaviv-Chernivtsi). 5 lines cross the mountains (Popradtal, Lubkovpass, Uzhok, Beskides and the Tatra Pass). 10 lines went to the Russian frontier, but only three were continued on the other side.

The density of the railroad net is also greater in the provinces formerly under Austria-Hungary than in those under Russia, with the exception of the Donets Basin. The figures for the entire Ukrainian territory can be compared with those for the rest of Europe in the middle thirties as follows:

Country	Length in 1000 km	Density per 100 sq. km	Density per 10 000 inhabitants
Germany	54.2	11.5	8.2
France	42.5	7.7	10.1
England	30.8	12.6	6.6
Ukraine	24.4	2.6	4.5
Poland	20.1	5.2	6.0
Italy	17.0	5.5	4.0
Czechoslovakia	13.5	9.6	8.9
Roumania	11.2	3.8	5.9
Belgium	5.0	16.4	6.5
USSR	83.5	0.4	4.9

The intensity of communication by rail was not great. The average speed per hour in Western Ukraine was 60—70 km, in the eastern areas of the national territory 50—60 km, but only

496 on the main lines. On side-lines the speed was about half as much. The distance between stations in Dnipro-Ukraine are far too great (10.8 km); in Carpatho-Ukraine and Galicia they are 4.2 and 3.7 respectively.

497 Travel is constantly increasing in Ukraine. In Dnipro-Ukraine the number of passengers rose from 49 millions in 1913 (5.3 mrd. passenger/km) to 60 millions in 1927/28 and to 200 millions in 1935 (11.6 mrd. passenger/km). Goods traffic increased from 95 million t (19.6 mrd. t/km) to 204 million t (51.4 mrd. t/km) in 1935. This increase of 300 % and 115 % respectively corresponded neither to the extension of the railroad net (23 %) nor to the increase in the means of transportation (engines 25 %, trucks 50 %) even if the traction power of the individual engine had greatly increased. (from 143 000 t in 1914 to 221 000 t in 1933).

3. Country Roads

491 In Dnipro-Ukraine there are mostly country-roads without side-ditches. They are not artificially built, and are often impassable in spring and autumn, and too dusty in summer so that they can only be used in winter. As they also form the approach to railway stations, they are responsible for gluts or shortages of railroad trucks: sugar factories, in particular, suffer from these circumstances during the beet harvest. Before the first World War there were only 2 770 km of paved highways (and 3 500 km of others). In Volynia and Podolia there were 13 or 15 meters respectively per sq. kilometer, in the districts round Kyiv and Chernyhiv, 5.6 meters each, while in France there were 1125 meters and in Germany 560 meters. Under the first Five-Year Plan serious attempts at improvements were made; the proportion of paved highways in the entire network of roads was to be raised from 2.3 % to 4.5 %. In reality the entire length of paved highways ~~in~~ 1935 amounted to 8 500 km. Northern Caucasia had 600 km of paved highways at this time. Things were much better in Galicia, which had 10 100 km of paved highways. After the First World War, however, Poland neglected road construction. In Carpatho-Ukraine, on the other hand, where there were 2 400 km of paved highways, the

491 roads were superior in quality to those in Galicia and the network was denser. The total length of highways in Ukraine was approximately 24 000 km. There was little motor traffic: there was more in Carpatho-Ukraine but in 1937 there were in Ukraine only 13 cars per 10 000 inhabitants (in France 492, England 431, Germany 183).

4. Inland Waterways

133 487 As regards length and the area of their basins, the rivers of Ukraine are among the largest in Europe, but their navigability suffers from frequent windings, shallows and rapids. In summer variations in the water level are a great disadvantage, while in winter the rivers are frozen for 3—4 months. As the rivers melt from the mouth, there is no danger from ice-floes. 90 % of the rivers flow into the Black Sea, some into the Vistula and two insignificant streams into the Caspian Sea. The Dnipro and some of its tributaries are navigable as are also 4 other rivers:

The Dnipro is 2 248 km long and drains an area of 518 500 square kilometers, so that it is the third biggest river in Europe. By the dam it has been made navigable for 1 250 kilometers. Its tributaries,, the Pripyat, the Desna and the Seym are also navigable. The total length of the Dnipro navigable network is 3250 kilometers, while 4 300 km of waterways can be used for shipping and floating rafts, i. e. more than $^2/_3$ of the total waterways in Ukraine (6 200 km).

505 Freight traffic on the Dnipro did not reach the pre-war level of 2.7 million t till 1932 and had increased by 1935 to 3.9 million t. Passenger traffic doubled in those years and amounted to 4.8 millions. $^1/_3$ of the goods transported was wood, and $^1/_4$ mineral building materials, more than $^1/_8$ grain, while coal, ore and metal were poorly represented. The important harbor towns on the Dnipro are Kyiv, Dnipropetrivske, Nishnodniprovske and Kherson.

The Dnister (1 372 km long, draining an area of 77 000 sq. km) has been prevented by geological and political conditions from developing any great shipping. Upper reaches and lower belong to two absolutely different political systems. Before the

505 First World War grain, wood, gypsum and building stone (250 000 t) were transported on the river, while later only wood was shipped on the upper reaches.

133 The Kuban (800 km long, with a basin of about 60 000 sq.km)
487 has its source in Caucasian glaciers and is navigable all the
year round for a stretch of 350 km. It is true that gravel and
505 sandbanks make shipping difficult. In 1935 230 000 t of freight
were shipped down the river. The Boh (709 km long, with a basin of 64 000 sq.km) has little water and many rapids. 100 km are navigable, but traffic is negligible. Of the Don (1984 km long, with a basin of 425 000 sq.km) which is the fourth biggest river in Europe, only the navigable lower reaches belong to Ukraine. Goods transported are above all grain, coal, salt-254 000 t in 1935. Conveyance of passengers is negligible.

Its right tributary, the Donets (1 020 km, with a basin of 99 000 km) crosses the Donets Basin and is navigable for a stretch of 350 km. The Buh, Vepr and Syan, Prut, Seret and Tysa are only important for floating down logs.

503 The condition of the Ukrainian waterways is not imposing, though Ukraine comes fourth in Europe with its 6 200 km of navigable rivers. There is no thorough system of regulating the rivers or building canals to connect them, though this has been planned for decades. There are only 200 km of canals. The following artificial systems of communication by water have been planned:

a) reconstruction of the Viking way and the linking up of Leningrad, Kyiv and Kherson (2 canals each 30 km long);

b) a connection between Riga and Kherson, in place of the antiquated route via the Beresina which has existed since 1805;

c) development of the now inadequate route (Oginski-Canal etc. 343 km) between the Dnipro or the Pripyat, Pina and Jasiolda and — via the Shara — the Memel linking Kherson with Königsberg;

d) (Royal canal etc. 233 km) between the Pina and — via the Mukhovets — the Buh and the Vistula, connecting Kherson with Danzig;

e) the construction of a canal from the Dnipro, via the Desna 503
and the Bolva (30 km) to the Zizdra and Oka, and so to Moscow and the Volga;

f) a canal between the Dnipro and the Donets, via Samara and Vovcha;

g) a connection between Danzig and the Black Sea via the Vistula and the Syan, linking up with the Dnister and perhaps the Prut;

h) a canal between the Caspian and the Black Sea, via the valley of the Manych, a tributary of the Don and the Sea of Oziv.

5. Sea Traffic

The position of Ukraine like a fan, spreading out from the 133
Black Sea and the Sea of Oziv is particularly favorable for 504
the export of mass products, while the coast of the Black Sea has not many natural harbors. Ports can, however, be built in the limans of the river-mouths. The coast of the Sea of Oziv is definitely unfavorable. It is only recently that harbor equipment has been mechanised and the harbors themselves improved.

Odessa is the third largest harbor in Russia, coming after Riga and Leningrad and lying in a bay 30 km north-east of the Dnister liman which is too shallow for shipping. The harbor is well constructed and freezes only for 2—3 weeks, which is
easy to manage. Odessa is the only port in Ukraine where ex- 505
ports practically balance imports (in 1913: 2 113 and 2 061 t. average for 1930—1934: 1 234 and 1 550 thousand t). These figures refer to the total turn-over, in which figures for coastal trade exceed those for actual exports. In the former the import figures were higher and in the latter the export figures.

In Odessa grain forms the biggest part of the freight which also includes sugar, wood, methylated spirits and oil-cake. The imports are groceries, fruit, textile raw materials, chemicals etc. The town had become an important financial center with a stock exchange.

Mykolaiv on the liman of the Boh has a well built harbor 504
with good connections with the hinterland. Grain and ore from

504 Kryvyj Rih and Nikopil are the chief exports, imports being much less significant.

[503] Since the harnessing of the rapids of the Dnipro, Kherson has developed quickly. The harbor lies on the Dnipro liman which is 60 km long, 5.20 km wide and 5—9 m. deep. Grain and wood are the most important freights handled.

Novorossiiske, the largest harbor in Northern Caucasia is the port for the grain from the Kuban and the Volga areas, and the wood that is transported by rail and on the Volga from Stalingrad, cement from the local factories etc.

Tuapse, in the most easterly area of Ukraine exports grain and, above all, petroleum from Maikop and valuable Caucasian wood. In Theodosia grain and fruit make up the freight while Sevastopil is exclusively a harbor for warships.

Mariupil, an artificial harbor, is the busiest port on the Sea of Oziv. Donets coal is transported for the Kerch furnaces and to countries abroad, also rocksalt from Artemivske and grain. The return freight consists partly of Kerch iron ore for the Donets Basin.

Rostov on the Don exports grain. It had grown at the expense of Taganrih even before the first World War.

Berdianske — not nearly so important as Rostov — owes its trade to the excellent wheat grown in the neighborhood. Henycheske and 10 other small ports play no great part in sea trade.

501 The Black Sea mercantile fleet was never very big: in 1913 it had only 416 steamers, 22 motor boats and 887 sailing ships with a total tonnage of 473 000 brt-. It only reached pre-war level under the second Five Year Plan. A large proportion of the trade with foreign countries was always carried on foreign ships. In 1934, for instance, there were far more Greek than native ships in the Russian ports on the Black Sea (with the exception of Odessa) — 1 350 000 net registered tons, 37 % of all shipping, compared with 760 000 net registered tons and 21 % native tonnage.

505

Trade in merchandise in the Ukrainian harbors was always characterized by the predominance of coastal traffic (cabotage) and inland transportation (more than 70 % of all shipments) over foreign trade (not quite 30 %) and the latter by the excess of exports over imports. Turnovers in Ukrainian harbors increased with swelling exports and reached a peak in the years 1909—1911, but had a disastrous setback after World War I and even under the second Five Year Plan attained only 15 million t, i. e. less than the 17 million t of pre-war years. Foreign trade decreased more than the entire turnover, imports more than exports, so that it was only the excess of the latter that increased.

The following contributed more than 1 % of the entire merchandise passing through the harbors of the USSR alone: in 1913, first of all grain (43.6 %), then a long way behind, coal (20.3 %), then ores (7.7 %), sugar (2.6 %), metals and metal products (2.6 %), salt (1.8 %), building materials (1.7 %), petroleum (products) (1.1 %), fruit (1.1.%), In 1934 hard coal came first (26.9 %), then petroleum (24.8 %) and grain only third (13.4 %), then ores (7.1 %), metals and metal products (6.6 %), building wood (4.4 %), salt (2.4 %), building materials (2.2 %), sugar (1.3 %). A comparison of these statistics shows the decline in the export of grain and sugar.

While the passenger traffic greatly increased after the First World War, there was practically none with foreign countries, but only between Soviet ports. In 1935, 2.8 million people were transported between the Ukrainian harbors on the Black Sea and the Sea of Oziv and in 1934 1.8 million between ports of the USSR alone, 29.6 % being contributed by Kherson, 28.9 % by Odessa and 18 % by Hola Prystan, otherwise an insignificant port.

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RD1 Ukraine RD1

Trade

Domestic and Foreign Trade

471 It was characteristic of the Ukrainian territory that trade was largely in the hands of aliens. To counteract this an efficient system of co-operative organisations grew up and spread over other provinces than trade. This phenomenon will be treated later as an independent feature.

439 The foreign trade of Ukraine is of great importance for many other European countries. It must not be judged by conditions of recent years when trade between Ukraine and the rest of Europe has been depressed and any considerable trade in merchandise has only existed with the USSR. We must return to the time before the first World War if we wish to get a true picture of the natural possibilities of exchange of merchandise between Ukraine and the countries of Central and Western Europe, though we must also bear in mind the changes that have taken place in Ukrainian economy and in the entire position of world trade.

Balance and Trade before 1914

No exact balance of trade can be calculated for the Ukrainian national territory for the years before the first World War. Statistics were drawn up in Russia for Dnipro-Ukraine, but they only included 9 provinces, viz. Volynia, Kyiv, Podolia, Chernyhiv, Poltava, Kharkiv, Katerynoslav, Kherson, Tauria (the last three names were often combined as the "South Steppe" or "New Russia"). Parts of Ukrainian territory were omitted from these statistics, e. g. the Kholm district, districts in Podlakhia, in the province of Kursk and Voronesh etc., and the Ukrainian part of the Kuban area was quite isolated. So that a balance of trade for Ukraine did not even cover the whole of the central part of the Ukrainian national territory, to say nothing of the areas that are linked up with Russia. 439

Nor did Ukrainian Galicia form an independent unit of administration in Austria; it was administered together with a Polish area, as was the same with the Ukrainian part of Bucovina, which was under Roumanian administration, and Carpatho-Ukraine under Hungarian administration. An approximately exact balance can therefore be calculated only for Dnipro-Ukraine; for the remainder, general estimates only can be given. [631]

Kryvchenko's figures for 1909—1911 give the best idea of the balance of trade for Dnipro-Ukraine before World War I. 1909—1911 were the last normal years for export trade via the Black Sea before the wars between Turkey and Italy and the Balkan wars. In the case of Ukraine which was not an independent state, a distinction must be made between export to foreign countries proper and export to other parts of the Russian empire. And the same distinction must be made for imports. The actual volume of Ukrainian imports or exports is obtained by adding these two categories, and the same holds for other sections of Ukrainian national territory. The "Russian exports from the Ukrainian provinces of the empire to foreign countries" would result in a low figure, which is by no means correct but which is sometimes quoted. The following are the characteristic features of the Dnipro-Ukrainian balance of trade before the first World War; the distinction already mentioned between exports and imports both beyond the frontiers and in trading with other parts of Russia, the latter category being a little in excess of the former; the fact that it was definitely favorable, both absolutely and relatively, particularly as regards foreign countries; the predominant share of agriculture in exports; the difference between the volume and quality of manufactured goods exported to foreign countries and those exported to other parts of Russia; the predominance of finished industrial commodities imported. Turnovers in foreign trade varied greatly, according to whether foreign countries or other parts of the Russian empire were concerned. In 1909—1911 the latter ac-

439 counted for 790 million roubles and were higher by $^{1}/_{3}$ than the turnovers with countries outside of Russia (470 million roubles). As regards exports, this proportion was not very unfavorable, as exports to non-Ukrainian areas of Russia exceeded those abroad only by $^{1}/_{6}$. But imports from non-Ukrainian Russia were three and a half times more than those from foreign countries.

Most of the exports were not sent to Russia proper but to Poland, White Ruthenia and the Baltic provinces. The majority of imports came from Russia itself (cotton products). These facts reflect the political situation.

439 457 The balance of trade in Dnipro-Ukraine (1909—1911) was favorable expressed both in absolute and relative values. Exports were 350 % of imports in trade with foreign countries and 115 % in trade with areas in Russia, approximately 170 % in all "foreign" trade. The balance in money was 263, 60, 323 million roubles respectively. It was very high (55.5 %) in comparison with the turnover in trade with foreign countries (475 mill. r.). The figure indicating the extent to which the balance of trade was favorable was much lower (7 %) for the larger turnover (792 mill. r.) with non-Ukrainian areas within Russia, while it was approximately 26 % for the entire turnover (1267 million roubles).

In 1913 balance and turnover had increased to 414 (for foreign trade to 272) and 1 600 million roubles respectively for all trade with countries outside of Ukraine but the relation of one to the other remained the same (26 %). The relation of export to import trade also remained the same (170 %) as both had increased to the same extent. The absolute value of the favorable balance of trade for Dnipro-Ukraine had risen, though relatively it had remained the same. In the entire Russian balance of trade before World War I, on the other hand, the favorable balance sank from 429 million roubles (1591—1162) in 1911 to 347 (1519—1172) in the following year and to 146 million roubles (1520—1374) in the last year before the war. Without Dnipro-Ukraine the Russian balance of trade was unfavorable by 268 million roubles.

The agricultural nature of Ukrainian export trade is clearly expressed in the balance of trade. 86 % of the entire exports are contributed by agricultural products, if partly manufactured (flour 14 % and, above all sugar, 28 %). In trade with foreign countries the 99 % contributed by agricultural produce is more than impressive while the 74 % share of export trade with other parts of Russia is significant enough. Grain was exported above all to foreign countries and flour and sugar to non-Ukrainian areas within Russia. And here we come to another characteristic of the export trade of Dnipro-Ukraine, its lack of uniformity corresponding to its agricultural origin.

The extent to which exports are manufactured varies in the balance of trade according to whether the commodities were destined for foreign countries or for non-Ukrainian areas in Russia. In the first case the share of industrially manufactured commodities is small (sugar 6 %, flour 2 %) even if we take the products of more intense agriculture into consideration and include animal produce (7 %; total 15 %). In export to Russian countries, on the other hand, this share is high: besides sugar and flour (together 65 %), some products of chemical industry are contained in "other produce". "Metals and produce" (21 %) are not raw materials, but half-manufactured commodities. Without being definitely an industrial land, the Dnipro-Ukraine, in comparison with other parts of the Russian empire plays an outstanding part as a source of industrially manufactured commodities. Such merchandise represents about half of the entire foreign trade, and about 60 % if animal produce is included. But the question is, to what extent are these commodities manufactured? "Metals and products" (11.5 %) are partly half-manufactured. In any case the export trade of Dnipro-Ukraine was quite different according as it was directed to foreign or to Russian countries.

Three quarters of the imports to Dnipro-Ukraine came from other parts of the Russian empire and one quarter from foreign countries. These consisted for the most part of manufactured industrial products (about $^{2}/_{3}$ of the entire total) and to a small extent of foodstuffs and luxuries ($^{1}/_{3}$). Textiles from Russia (cotton and linen goods) and Poland (woolen goods) formed

40 % of the entire manufactures. Machinery and metal products came principally from Germany, wood from White Ruthenia and Russia, groceries from abroad, but tea partly from or via Russia. Dnipro-Ukraine got petroleum products from Ukrainian areas in Northern Caucasia. Many superfluous commodities were imported (steel, cement, coke, wood and bunker coal, phosphorites and acids), many manufactured goods could be made from available materials.

The balance of trade for the entire Ukrainian territory is in essentials similar to that for Dnipro-Ukraine. In Galicia exports practically balanced imports so that the inclusion of that province in statistics for the entire territory merely increased the turnover figure but not the favorable balance in terms of money. As regards individual items, however, the export of petroleum (products) plays an important part in the balance for the entire territory, for Dnipro-Ukraine imported those commodities, and the same holds for wood which Carpatho-Ukraine also exported in relatively large quantities. The share of animal produce is increased by the addition of Galicia which exported a considerable quantity of cattle, pigs and meat (to Vienna, and partly to Bohemia) and also eggs.

In the Kuban area exports greatly exceeded imports, so that the credit side of the balance of trade for the whole of Ukraine is increased by the addition of this area. It also enhances the position of Ukraine in the world grain market, as grain, and particularly wheat and barley, formed one of the main exports from the Kuban area (86 % of the volume of export trade and probably 60 % of the value in money, though no estimates of money values are available). The export of oil from sun-flowers, oil-cake and tobacco is also characteristic. On the other hand sugar, one of the main articles of export from Dnipro-Ukraine is poorly represented as are also poultry and eggs. Petroleum and petroleum products are among the most important non-agricultural exports which, however, do not include coal, ores and metals.

Balance of Trade after World War I

Changes in the structure of the balance of trade for Dnipro-Ukraine are more important, especially on the export side than alterations in volume and turnover. Dnipro-Ukraine formerly used to export a great part of its surplus produce to countries abroad (i. e. beyond the frontiers of Russia); if we remember that other exports were sent mainly to Poland, White Ruthenia and the Baltic provinces, we see that the central area of Russia proper was not much of a market for Ukraine (mostly for sugar).

After World War I and particularly as a result of the economic policy of the Five Year Plan, political relations became decisive also for export, as they had formerly been, at least partially, for import. The nationalisation of production and trade forced export into channels prescribed by the Soviet government to effect as close a connection as possible with central areas in Russia. Export from Ukraine to countries abroad existed only in very modest proportions.

Dnipro-Ukraine balance of trade has not changed much as regards volume or the extent to which it is favorable. If we bear in mind the changes in political frontiers that have taken place since 1913 the pre-war figure for exports of 720 million roubles more or less remains the same for 1934. The favorable balance of 335 million roubles also approximately corresponded to that for 1909—1911, the relation of export to import, 190 %, is rather higher, and so is the relation of balance to turnover (335 : 1105 = 30 %).

But marked changes have taken place in the individual items exported. Agricultural produce sank to 30 %, i. e. a little more than $^1/_3$ of the old level. The export of grain, expressed in absolute quantities, sank from 6.7 to 1 million t (i. e. by 85 %) while the export of animal produce practically disappeared.

The 22 % of sugar exports represented about a quarter of the old figure. Mining produce (coal, ores) rose from 1.6 % to almost 21 %, and the quantity exported to almost 21 million t. Metals and metal products, formerly 11.5 % of value of exports, now account for 50 % and are the most important single item. Ukraine is therefore no longer a country for exporting agricultural produce; it supplies industrial raw-materials and products of heavy industry and partly also machinery.

Alterations in imports are not so important in principle, but there are marked changes in the relation of the different commodities imported to one another. Textile products still head the list, they represent 47 % of the entire imports, a higher percentage than before the war. Imports of petroleum and petroleum products in connection with increasing motorisation, is of significance; this item has increased fourfold in percentage from 7.2 to 28.5 % and in volume from less than 300 000 t to almost 2 million t. The figures for the import of wood also show a sharp increase (now 18 %). On the other hand numerous small items of half-manufactured goods and industrial produce, but also of foodstuffs and luxuries have disappeared.

Merchandise Exported and Lands of Destination

The commodities imported into and exported from the Ukrainian national territory have remained essentially the same though changes in volume have taken place. Ukraine is actually or potentially a source of exports, above all of grain, eggs, sugar, salt, coal, iron and manganese ores, heavy iron industry produce, machinery, chemicals etc. Peripheral areas export large quantities of petroleum (products) and wood, while the central area imports them. Ukraine is a market for manufactured industrial produce, specially textiles, also for machinery and tools, partly also for chemical products etc. Central and Western Europe are interested in the export of grain, eggs, coal, iron and manganese ores, and partly also in petroleum (products).

The grain exports from Dnipro-Ukraine must be supplemented by the heavy exports from the Kuban area (1904—1913 = 1.5 million t); the sections of Ukrainian territory included in Austria-Hungary exported very little grain. In the years 1909—1911 eastern Ukraine exported in all 8.6 million t, which represented $^{4}/_{5}$ of the entire exports of grain from Russia and $^{1}/_{5}$ of world export of grain; this made it first as a land exporting grain in general, first also for wheat, rye and barley, third for oats and fourth for maize (see Table 2).

$^{4}/_{5}$ of the volume exported went to countries abroad, and only $^{1}/_{5}$ to other parts of Russia, though mostly not to Russia proper but to Poland, White Ruthenia and the Baltic provinces. The main consumers of Ukrainian grain abroad were Germany and

Holland, i. e. in reality it was Germany as in Holland it was mostly a case of transit trade. In the years 1909—1911 Germany alone imported 2.7 million t "Russian" barley for feeding every year, which came from Ukrainian territory. Russian exports of wheat to Italy also came from Ukraine and they amounted to approximately 1 million t with smaller quantities of other grain. Ukrainian grain was also exported to England, France, Greece etc. Only very little flour was exported abroad by Dnipro-Ukraine.

After the first World War grain exports sank to a fraction of the pre-war amount (about $^1/_7$). The reasons for this were the increased population, industrialisation, alterations in distribution of ownership, but also backward agricultural methods. But collectivisation and the Soviet form of economy introduced into Ukrainian territory did more than those to nip in the bud the favorable signs that were evident before the Five Year Plan.

And still the good harvests of recent years have resulted in an increase of exports from Ukraine to Russia. In 1937 Dnipro-Ukraine alone is said to have exported approximately 4½ million t. A large proportion of this was due to extremely good harvest conditions and almost as much to the ruthlessness with which Soviet officials collected contributions, no adequate allowance having been made for the population of Ukraine. The further increase in grain exports from Ukraine could not be reckoned as a permanent item in Soviet economy and it would be far too optimistic to conclude that such enormous reserves of grain were actually available. But the export figure given above is at any rate a valuable index of the capacity of Ukraine to export several million tons (about 5—7) when conditions are once more normal.

The individual provinces of Ukrainian territory stood first in world export of eggs. Assuming that the export capacity of Dnipro-Ukraine is unchanged, a higher figure would be reached than even for the best egg-exporting countries. Exports of eggs from Ukraine, which had been 90—100 000 t and 20 % of world export (450 000 t), sank in the years before 1927 to 58 000 t and 12% of world export which had risen in 1927 to 500 000 t. As a result of Five Year Plans and collectivisation no more eggs were exported from Ukraine. Most of the eggs exported from Ukraine used to go to Germany and Austria. Sugar was exported

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Table 12. Nikopil's supply of world market with

Export	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906
Nikopil	21	12	6	14	20	37	91
Chisturi	419	308	444	445	465	334	483
Russian Empire	440	320	450	459	485	371	574
% of Nikopil	5	3,5	1,5	3	4	10	16
Br. India	133	135	158	184	184	331	563
Brazil	108	100	157	162	208	224	121
Gold Coast	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
World Export	925	770	945	955	980	015	1395
% of Nikopil	2,5	1,5	0,5	1,5	2	3,5	6,5

Export	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925
Nikopil	—	—	3	38	38	31	168
Chisturi	5	176	25	168	353	477	433
Soviet Union	5	176	28	206	391	508	601
% of Nikopil	—	—	10,5	18,5	9,5	6	28
Br. India	388	819	539	891	827	779	751
Brazil	206	454	276	341	234	159	312
Gold Coast	34	44	7	62	138	237	344
South Africa	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Egypt	—	—	47	—	—	—	42
World Export	775	1570	935	1585	1654	1760	2070
% of Nikopil	—	—	—	2,5	2,5	2	8
Nikopil in world export	—	—	—	5.	5.	5.	5.

from Dnipro Ukraine to Russia and even to Asia, but not to European countries.

Hard coal was exported abroad even before World War I from the Donets Basin. The countries round the Black Sea and the Mediterranean were the main consumers — Turkey, Roumania, Bulgaria, Greece, Italy and France. But no great quantities were exported to those countries. In 1931 about 1.2 million tons of coal were shipped in Ukrainian ports, almost ⅓ million t to Italy, a little less to the Middle East etc. Almost half of the exports (45 %) consisted of anthracite, while most of the coal was sent to non-Ukrainian areas in Russia — more than 16 million t in 1934 (only 7 million t in 1913). The industrial centers of European Russia and the railways depend mostly on Donets coal. In 1934 almost 20 million t of hard and coking coal was exported altogether.

manganese ore (1900 — 1937 in 1 000 t and %).

907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918
109	51	65	68	49	78	91	44	—	—	—	0,3
509	395	555	616	586	930	1103	708	—	1,5	4,2	32,5
618	446	620	684	635	1008	1196	752	—	1,5	4,2	32,8
17,5	11,5	10,5	10	7,5	7,5	7,5	6	—	—	—	1
659	516	591	685	634	800	818	515	481	663	445	393
237	166	241	254	174	155	122	184	289	503	533	393
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	30	32
1650	1175	1490	1660	1495	2030	2230	1490	805	1245	1130	1025
6,5	4,5	4,5	4	3,5	4	4	3	—	—	—	—

1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
211	206	227	239	220	226	37	159	125	64	8	—
472	555	281	743	570	515	382	490	580	580	606	1001
683	761	508	982	790	741	419	649	705	644	614	1001
31	27	44,5	24,5	28	30,5	9	24,5	17,5	10	1,5	—
623	857	848	980	785	425	306	382	516	879	750	997
320	242	362	293	192	96	21	25	2	61	166	241
350	375	330	426	424	251	51	269	345	405	418	536
—	—	—	—	48	105	3	22	66	81	208	483
48	37	44	22	22	14	8	—	12	7	65	64
2050	2400	2180	2710	2235	1640	830	1390	1715	2120	2260	3450
10,5	8,5	10,5	9	10	14	4,5	11,5	7,5	3	0,5	—
5.	5	5	5.	4.	4.	4.	4.	4.	5.	—	—

The export of iron ore was greatly restricted by the heavy demands of domestic consumption, as most of the ore was utilised by domestic heavy iron industry. In 1908—1915 about 1 million t ore, i. e. 20 % of the amount mined then, were exported from Kryvyj Rih beyond the frontiers of Dnipro-Ukraine. 380 000 t of that amount were sent to non-Ukrainian areas of Russia, mainly to Poland, 870 000 t were exported to foreign countries, 445 000 t by sea.

Germany, the main market for Ukrainian exports in ore, took almost all the quantity sent overland (225 000 t) and also a considerable quantity of the iron ore sent by sea, partly via Holland; it consumed in all 79—99 % of all the iron ore exported from Ukraine, the amount varying with the year.

Before World War I the Georgian deposits in Chiaturi were the main source of the exports abroad of manganese ores. The

439 Ukrainian manganese ores at Nikopil were reserved for domestic consumption. Still in the five years from 1910—1914, 65 700 t were exported abroad, scarcely 7.7 % of the total Russian export and 3.7 % of world export. In the time between 1925—1929 the exports of manganese ore from Nikopil reached a height of 210 000 t annually (30 % of the Soviet and 9 % of the world export) but sank during the next five years to 153 000 t and ceased altogether in 1927 in consequence of the increasing needs of the USSR for domestic consumption.

In the years when it was exporting most (1925—28) Nikopil exported 200 000 t mainly to 6 countries. Germany took 43 % Luxemburg 31 %, Poland 10 %, Italy 8 %, France 5 %, England 3 %. But Nikopil manganese ore was also exported to non-Ukrainian areas of USSR. In the years 1930—1934 Ukrainian production of pig-iron amounted to approximately 54 % of the figure for USSR. During the same five years manganese ore production in the USSR amounted on an average to 1 185 000 t. Of this amount 661 000 t are deducted for export, so that the amount consumed was 524 000 t, in Ukraine 335 000 t. But Nikopil delivered 423 000 t for home consumption, so that Ukraine exported to non-Ukrainian Russia 88 000 t. This added to the figure for exports abroad gives approximately 240 000 t i. e. 15.5 % of world production of manganese ore (5th place). (See Table 12).

Petroleum and petroleum products were exported from Galicia and Northern Caucasia. Only when we include Groznyj Ukraine has a considerable excess of exports over imports, as Dnipro-Ukraine does not import more than 2 million t (in 1934) and only 500—800 000 t more than the amount produced in the Ukrainian territory in the Kuban area. 3—3.5 million t of the oil produced at Groznyj would remain for export, and also the amount produced in Galicia (½ million t). In 1935 Galician oil was exported partly to Poland (about 200—240 000 t) and partly abroad (170 000 t), mostly to Germany.

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine RDl

Co-operative Organisations

The beginning of co-operative organisations in Dnipro-Ukraine 474 and Western Ukraine date from the seventies and eighties of the 19th century. Foreign ideas and organisations supplied the model (especially English — Rochdale) e. g. the German foundations by Schulze — Delitzsch and Reiffeisen for credit co-operative societies. But they developed along other lines, their development being determined by legal and economic conditions which were nowhere the same — in the Russian Empire or Eastern Ukraine, in Austria-Hungary and the states which succeeded it and above all in Poland and therefore in Western Ukraine. In Dnipro-Ukraine the first co-operative society was founded in Kharkiv in 1866. The founder was M. Ballin, a landed proprietor and a man who was animated by co-operative ideals. He also wrote and was altogether a pioneer of the co-operative movement. Other co-operatives followed in the large towns but it was only after 1897 that general progress was marked when the statutes of a new co-operative society did not need to be approved by the Ministry of the Interior but only by the local governor. This is the time when Vasyl Domanytskyj, the Ukrainian champion of the co-operative movement wrote and worked.

Before World War I co-operative shops were the commonest 474
co-operative organisation in Ukraine. Of the 6510 co-operative 462
organisations in existence on January 1, 1914. 1075 (i. e. 47.2 %) were shops, while the 2370 co-operative credit societies were only 36.4 % of the total. Dnipro-Ukraine had 31 of all the co-operative shops in pre-war Russia (10080) while it had only 19 % of the co-operative credit societies (12995) and an average of only 22 %. of all co-operative organisations (29060)

474 The formation of unions was difficult and made little progress till 1917.

452 Credit co-operative societies began in Dnipro-Ukraine in 1868 when the first Savings and Credit Society was founded in the town of Hadyach. Two years later Halahan, a big landed proprietor, founded a second in the village of Sokyryntsi and also in the Poltava district. The development of the movement was checked by the restrictions of Russian legislation. The state offered its support through the State Bank which in 1895 opened a special department as an office for the "control of small credit institutes". But the support of the state was not particularly effective and the very bureaucratic methods of control were not adapted to further a genuine co-operative spirit.

By the end of the century 295 organisations for savings and credit had been founded. And then a new form of credit co-operative society appeared. The law of 1895 had permitted the foundation of credit co-operatives without a capital that had first been paid in by members. The basic capital was credited by the State bank and had to be paid back gradually. This mutual loan type of bank appealed to the poor rural population. In 1897 the first Mutual Loan Bank in the whole empire was opened in the village of Ivankivtsi, in the district of Poltava. During the first year of the war 70 % of the credit co-operatives in Eastern Ukraine were of this new type.

Productive co-operative organisations found in Dnipro-Ukraine a new form in agricultural concerns. Since the middle of the nineties they had been founded and promoted by M. Levytskyj, their indefatigable champion and organiser. Each of these co-operative societies was based on a contract, according to which the land of the members was managed in common and the produce divided among the members or their families.

It would be wrong to conclude that the Ukrainian rural population inclined either to communism or to the colkhose form of farming. These societies were formed for concrete purposes and after these were attained and the members — not without the support of the patrons — had enlarged their holdings, the societies were dissolved. Most of the 125 rural productive co-operative societies founded after 1902 scarcely

lasted 2—3 years. A co-operative organisation was also formed 474
in particular when land was to be purchased. 452

From 1906 on many productive co-operative societies were also founded in towns and they lasted much longer. World War I was favorable to their development (army orders etc.).

Legislation and administrative authorities in imperial Russia were opposed to the formation of co-operative unions. In 1909 the first union of credit co-operative societies on Ukrainian territories was founded in Berdianske, and this was followed up to the Revolution of 1917 by a few unions, though there was no central organisation.

Co-operative organisations in Eastern Ukraine before World 474
War I were characterised by difficulties of development, especially wherever there was an attempt to extend the scope beyond purely local needs and by the lack of generous legislation. Prominent among the circumstances of that time was the distrust of governing circles against all forms of co-operation, no matter in what nation. The national point of view was therefore disregarded; it was indeed impossible for a national Ukrainian policy of economy to develop under the Tsars. But it was evident soon after the outbreak of the Revolution that strong national powers were behind the co-operative movement.

The Revolution and political independence gave a tremendous impulse to the co-operative movement in Ukraine. National and co-operative forces were closely interwoven. Numerous men of the people came from the ranks of the co-operative organisation to take responsible offices in the state; the Ukrainian state, which could not look for support to any national capitalist vested interests, found effective help in the co-operative organisations. In 1917 the "Dniprosojus" was founded as the central body of the Ukrainian co-operative stores and on January 1, 1919, it counted 80 unions with 8000 co-operative stores and 540 similar organisations (these figures increased later to 200 and 14000 respectively). The central body operated productive plants of its own, fulfilled cultural functions etc.

The "Ukrainbank" also first saw light in 1917 and on January 1, 1919, it united more than 130 unions with several thousand

474 co-operative societies (in 1920 there were 175 unions). As the central body of the credit co-operative organisations, the Ukrainbank took over all paying and credit transactions, and for other co-operative organisations in Ukraine as well.

The "Central" was founded in January 1918 and formed the central organisation of the Ukrainian agricultural co-operative societies. Its functions were to assure the supply of agricultural machinery and other necessary commodities, and, on the other hand, to organise the sale of agricultural produce and to increase agricultural production.

Besides these three most powerful central organisations, there were a number of special unions, the agricultural society for culture "Silskyj Hospodar", a central co-operative publishing concern etc.

In April 1919 the co-operative organisations could be summed up as follows: 7 central organisations, 120 unions of co-operative stores, 43 unions of credit co-operative societies, 7 of agricultural societies, 41 of mixed co-operative societies and 42 of other societies. In 1930 the 100 unions comprising approximately 40 000 co-operative societies and millions of members were finally dissolved, after having been re-organised on lines that were contrary to co-operative ideas.

In the Soviet state no real system of co-operation could exist and the movement soon declined. If any organisation still called itself a co-operative, it was in reality a state distribution agency without the slightest claim to independent activity and the spirit of co-operation. It would be wrong, too, to assume the existence of co-operative principles in collective managements.

In form, indeed, these ranked as "Artjel", that is to say as co-operative organisations. But they were communities formed by force, under the strict control of authorities, whose administration was equally rigid, but without the slightest trace of the spirit of co-operation.

A national system of economy could not stand up against a strongly centralised authority of state that was hostile to nationalities. In the last decades of imperial Russia, however, the national system found articulate expression and it received a great impetus in the years of revolution and political independence. Under the Soviets it became an anomaly and perished not as a result of national competition or of a struggle with the economic forces of other nations but as the victim of a political power that is hostile to all popular movements, and that excluded all national or even co-operative independence. 474

The development of co-operative organisations in Galicia was most interesting from the point of view of national economy. The co-operative organisations in the main area of Western Ukraine which was poorer in national resources and agricultural production, as well as being smaller, were fewer and weaker than in Dnipro-Ukraine. And yet we cannot help remarking the priority of a national economy in purely co-operative ideas.

The Empire of Austria-Hungary was favorable towards the idea of co-operations so that these organisations had not, as in Russia, to fight for their development. And the state exercised no control. In Galicia the apparatus of local government was in the hand of the Poles. But they could not directly suppress Ukrainian economic organisations, even if they hampered their growth. Neither did post-war Poland adopt any positive attitude to co-operative organisations on principle. So Polish measures against Ukrainian co-operative societies were dictated by nationalism, though the state shrank from carrying them out to their logical conclusion, probably out of consideration for international opinion.

An atmosphere of national quarrels and strife against a stronger opponent was therefore characteristic for Ukrainian economic effort in Galicia; this opponent had indeed state authority but was not so overwhelmingly powerful as to hold up the Ukrainian economic and co-operative movement.

The poverty of the peasant population could be relieved only by disinterested activity on the part of educated circles and by the organisation of even the most modest economic forces; big estates and natural wealth were both in the hands of for-

474 eigners. Circles round the "Prosvita", a society concerned with the culture and education of the people and later also with economics, were mainly responsible for the work of spreading economic ideas and forming organisations. This activity increased in intensity after the first national meeting of the Ukrainians in Lviv (1880).

After conducting a public campaign the "Prosvita" proceeded to further and found credit societies, grain silos, stores and trading societies. It also functioned through travelling teachers and courses, it granted bursaries for the study of economics abroad, founded vocational schools, experimental farms etc.

But amalgamation in a universal organisation at that time had also disadvantages for economic development. And as organisations the economic societies were not the most suitable. It was only when co-operative societies were founded that national economic efforts found their final and best form of organisation.

452 Individual credit co-operative societies appeared as early as 474 1873, when the "Vira", the first credit co-operative society, was established in Tysmenytsia (it still exists to-day); but the growth of a sound system was not assured till the central body was organised in Lviv in 1898. At the end of 1911 this union comprised 320 credit co-operative societies, while about 100 were not members of the union. The local government erected an organisation which comprised 723 loan banks, 184 of which were Ukrainian. But this organisation was developed along Polish lines and was never of great significance for the development of a Ukrainian economic system.

It was typical for this "classical home of usury" in the years before the war that the credit co-operative societies far exceeded all other such organisations. After the first World War the central body founded in Lviv in 1898 was called "Centrobank" But credit co-operative organisations had to yield their priority of place to agricultural trading or productive co-operative organisations.

Co-operative stores grew slowly in the towns where there were few Ukrainians. The powerful co-operative founded in Lviv in 1883, the "Narodna Torhovla" assumed the functions of a central organisation in 1907, for all stores. After the first World War, however, it concentrated more and more on the towns and on certain merchandise. Co-operative dairies go back to the local units erected by the "Prosvita". In 1905 a union of dairy co-operatives was organised in Stryj. After the first World War the "Maslosojuz" flourished and became a model, not only of co-operative but also of national economic management. It was far superior to the Polish unions with their large subsidies and even exported butter.

Agricultural co-operative societies were amalgamated in the union "Silskyj Hospodar" which was transformed in 1909 in Lviv from the former union for commerce and trade in Peremyshl (1899). After the first World War the re-organised union, under the name of "Centrosojuz" received fresh life and supplied village and district co-operatives, partly with the products of their own co-operative industrial societies, organising the sale and the purchase of grain, cattle, bacon, poultry and especially of eggs, partly exporting them. Its turnover increased in 4 years from 1933—37 by almost 300 %.

Other co-operative societies include above all the insurance society "Dnister" (1891) in Lviv (since 1895 also a co-operative bank). The co-operative bank for trade and industry, the "Prombank" is also worthy of mention. It owed its foundation to the first meeting of Ukrainian engineers (Lviv 1932) and its development was promising. Ukrainian co-operative societies in Galicia are united, both as regards practice and theory, in the "Revision Union of Ukrainian Co-operative Societies". It was founded in accordance with the special Austrian Law of 1903 dealing with co-operative societies (the general law having been passed in 1873) in the next year in Lviv and in 1911 comprised 511 co-operative societies. After the first World War it extended its scope to Volynia, Polesya, Podlakhia and the Kholm district. But these areas as well as the Galician country of the Lemky were withdrawn from it in 1932 and attached to Polish unions.

474 Ukrainian co-operatives in Galicia in 1938 were as follows: Credit co-operatives: 688 (20 % of the entire number, in 1911 60 %), Co-operative stores 126 (not quite 4 %);

Purely dairy co-operatives 143 (more than 4 %), to which, however, must be added the agricultural co-operatives with dairy departments (119 in 1937).

Agricultural co-operatives 2350 (68 %).
Others 16.

Co-operatives of first rank 3423, of second and third (unions) 32.
Members in 1937 = 643 000.

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine

III

Cultural life

The General Trends of Ukrainian Culture

When studying the intellectual characteristics of the Ukrainians we come to the conclusion that their often too marked individualism and their ideals, which display themselves in the necessities of everyday life, stamp them as unmistakably western in their attitude to the world, while their geographical position drew them from the very beginning within the orbit of Central and Western Europe and later on made them instrumental in handing on the products of Western culture to the nations of the East. 181

The first mention of the Kyiv empire in history shows it in connection with a western power. In the Annals of Bertinius we read how emperor Ludwig received a Grecian delegation at Ingelheim on May 18th, 839 and how, in the company of the ambassadors sent by Theophilus, the Greek emperor, there were also certain men, "qui se, id est gentem suam, Rhos vocari dicebant." We may assume with great probability that these men were first sent from their home, Kyiv, to Constantinople, and had then accompanied the Grecian delegates on their long journey from Byzantium to the Rhine and that the name "Rhos" is identical with the later Rus-Ukraine. 175

Grand Princess Olga, who had embraced the Christian faith of the West, sent a delegation in 960 to the German Emperor Otto I, requesting that priests should be sent to her country that was so little known. Missionaries under Adalbert set out

175 on this long journey with, however, little practical success. As early as the reign of Volodymyr the Great and Yaroslav, his son, definite attempts were being made to share in the general cultural life of Europe through alliances with the powers of the West. Yaroslav in particular was zealous to form family alliances with western princes. It was also in keeping with this policy that he appointed Hilarion, a native monk of some standing, to be Metropolitan of Kyiv, a position hitherto always held by a Greek; he sought thus to strengthen his position with regard to Byzantium in the ecclesiastical as well as in the political world. Izyaslav, Yaroslav's eldest son, first negotiated with King Henry IV, whose wife, Praxedis, was a daughter of Vsevolod, Grand Prince of Kyiv, and later with his adversary, Pope Gregory VII, in order to establish contact with Rome. These and similar events point clearly to the fact that, in spite of geographical position and distance from Western Europe, in spite of the vicinity and the influence of the Byzantine empire, the Kyiv state and its leaders pursued a policy that was definitely directed towards the west.

175 177 After the Tatar invasion of the Ukrainian steppe, the reins of government in Ukraine fell into the hands of the Galician-Volynian Realm which, as an advanced outpost on the way to the West, became a channel of communication between the "world" of those days and the East. As was natural, western influences here became stronger, the romanesque style dominated in architecture and Latin became the language of public life. But the waves sent out by the West did not stop merely at the country that was nearest in space; they spread further east, where from the outset they counteracted a one-sided influence from Byzantium.

Lithuanian dominion over Ukraine was fundamentally peaceful in character; Lithuania had the upper hand in politics, but Ukraine was superior to her partner in culture, an advantage which was not abandoned when the Union with Poland took place. But this latter historical fact nevertheless brought Ukrainian territory into still closer contact with movements in the culture of Western Europe which, favored by fortunate conditions, spread rapidly eastwards. The Magdeburg Statute which

had been known earlier in Western Ukraine as a privilege of 175
the towns (Volodymyr from 1324 and Syanik from 1339) be- 177
comes the basis of organisation for further settlements in newly acquired areas. German artisans and artists are welcome to these areas and the youth of Ukraine are fired with enthusiasm to attend German and Italian universities in order to acquire learning with which they will subsequently enrich life at home. Thus western cultural movements like Humanism, the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation penetrated at long length the wide-flung steppe. It is true that they sometimes caused effects there that could not have been expected from experience in other countries. This is seen best in the case of the Reformation.

After the amalgamation of the Lithuanian-Ukrainian state with 795
Poland, the Orthodox Church, though already shaken to its foundations, begins to play an important part in public life; after the loss of Ukrainian independence, it becomes a rallying point for national feeling and the difference in creed between the Orthodox and the Catholic Churches coincides with the political difference between Poles and Ukrainians; it was therefore natural that nationalist circles should be absolutely opposed to every further attempt to weaken the Ukrainian Church. It was well known that grievous abuses had crept into the organisation and life of the Orthodox Church, for those abuses arose from the new position it had been forced to assume. From having been an all-powerful state church it was degraded to become a factor in a strange country that was barely tolerated and was therefore unable to control its own administration, all the more as it had no longer a decisive say in making church appointments. It was common property that Orthodoxy in Ukraine was in a critically weak condition of disintegration, but nobody dreamt of opposing it and still less of replacing it by another creed, its fall would have been a severe, if not fatal blow to the entire life of the nation.

Such were the psychological reasons for the fact that the reformation movement found such a weak echo in Ukraine, though the necessity for a change in conditions, for reform, but from within, was felt by all.

659 The spread of Protestantism from Germany to Ukraine was
795 favored by the mere geographical fact of the latter's inclusion in the Polish empire while Poland, as a result of its close connections with Prussia, the Baltic States and Bohemia was for a considerable time a refuge for all sorts of creeds. Moreover, many of the magnates and some of the kings of Poland had shown themselves to be favorably disposed to the new movement, not indeed from any genuine, religious feeling, nor because they were moved by conscience to adopt new ways, but purely from motives of self-interest; for they calculated that, if the reformation was victorious in Poland, the Catholic Church would forfeit its all-powerful influence on life in general and, further, they hoped to acquire for themselves the enormous property which the Catholic Church would have to abandon. Such reasoning, however, did not apply to the Orthodox Church which had little property and which did not constitute a power that was ambitious of yielding political influence; it was inspired by no desire for sovereignty, but, on the contrary, had constantly to defend itself against encroachments from without.

795 The same trends and sympathy for the West gave rise to the movement for the union of the churches whose leaders did not think only of their personal interest but were also inspired by lofty ideals. When, after the fall of Constantinople, Moscow or the third Rome, as it liked to be called, tried to succeed to the position of capital of the Eastern Church, the Ukrainian bishops were faced with a choice between a Moscow that they held to be still uncivilised and Rome, a center of Western culture, and they decided in favor of the latter.

From the point of view of national interests, the dignitaries who joined the Union represented definitely Ukrainian tendencies in contrast to their conservative colleagues who preferred a connection with Moscow which was also orthodox. In support of this contention, we may mention that the Metropolitan Hipatius Potij, a Greek Catholic who was one of the most energetic champions of the Union, displayed particular zeal for the Ukrainian language in which tongue he recited his creed and took his oath to the Pope, although he was completely at home in Latin. By accepting the protection of the mighty Church of Rome as the supreme head of their church, the pioneers of 795 the Union and of the cultural independence of Ukraine wished to throw off the cultural yoke of Poland, thinking that they would acquire equal rights with the Poles once the churches were united. The course of events has showed how much they were mistaken; for the Poles have merely exploited this rapprochement in ecclesiastical affairs as an instrument by means of which, with the help of the Jesuits, they aimed at ruling over the entire East and at completely absorbing the Ukrainian nation.

Western influence can also be detected in the guild-like 441 organisations of the Ukrainian middle-classes in towns like Lviv 871 Kyiv, Lutsk etc., organisations which, in addition to promoting the interests of a particular class or trade, also concerned themselves with church affairs. One of their main aims was the foundation of schools which taught Latin as well as Church Slavonic and Greek.

The most important foundation of those so-called Brotherhood 874 schools was undoubtedly the Kyiv Academy 795 which owed its supremacy as an intellectual center, not 177 only of Ukraine, but of the whole of Eastern Europe .79 to the activities of such an eminent personality as Metropolitan Peter Mohyla. Mohyla, the son of the governor of Moldavia and educated in Jesuit schools, remained a life-long advocate of western culture and the Catholic Church, the organisation of which served him as a model when he was planning the reform of the Orthodox Church. We are scarcely able to-day to imagine what an enormous revolution and what great boldness of spirit was implied in the idea of introducing Catholic principles and methods into the organisation of the Orthodox Church which had been hostile to Rome for centuries. And yet this unique plan succeeded and could succeed only in Ukraine, for it was here alone that history had prepared the way for the adoption of these plans for realising western ideas. The spirit which inspired Mohyla's activities was wholly directed towards the West, as was clearly expressed in his innovations: in dogma, however, he remained a loyal disciple of the "faith

874 of his fathers", of the Orthodoxy. He is thus a concrete symbol
795 of the synthesis of two worlds, of the harmonious and complete
union of two cultures, of the meeting of East and West and of
177 the fertilising of Ukrainian Orthodoxy by the Latin spirit of
179 the Roman Catholic Church.

795 The seed scattered by Mohyla bore rich fruit. Hundreds of
scholars, writers, politicians and organisers graduated in the
874 course of the 17th and 18th centuries from this unique "alma mater", the Kyiv Academy, equipped with the modern weapons of western learning, to fight first of all for the independence and the honor of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine. After completing their studies in Kyiv the Ukrainian patriots of that time go to Germany to appropriate the arguments used by the Reformation against Catholicism, they penetrate to Rome and do not shrink from joining the Roman Church for a season only in order to become better acquainted with their opponent's plans in the very center of his camp. On their return home they develop an energetic campaign in teaching and writing to prepare and train wide circles of less well educated priests for the fight. In order to supply their audiences with intellectual munition, they publish a series of pamphlets directed against the enemy and all manner of apologies in defence of their own cause, utilising the knowledge they had gathered in the West. This leads to an enormous outburst of polemic writing, to an intellectual activity in the country which strikes even foreigners.

177 But the efforts of these champions of Ukrainian Orthodoxy
874 who had been trained in the West, did not stop there; they performed a still more important function in making European influence supreme in the state of Moscow, or the Russia of Peter, as it was then called. Ukraine contributed no mean share to the work of Peter the Great. The foundation and building of the modern Russian Empire was the almost unaided work of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, for the intellectual conditions for the solving of this task were almost completely lacking in Moscow itself. In order to carry out his reforms which soon degenerated into an absolute mania for reform, Peter utilised

the powers of the South which, in the 17th and 18th centuries 177
could boast of a brilliant galaxy of scholars while Moscow and 814
the North were still wrapped in darkness. The most important, but by no means all of the intellectual leaders in Ukraine were Herasym and Meletij Smotrytskyj, Christophor Philalet, Ivan Vyshenskyj, Kyrylo Tranquillion Stavrovetskyj, Zahar Kopystenskyj, Jelissej Pletenetskyj, Lavryn Sysanyj, Petro Mohyla, Kassian Sakovych, Taras Zemka, Sylvester Kossov, Lazar Baranovych, Joannykyj Galatovskyj, Dmytro Rostovskyj, Inokentyj Gisel, Stefan Javorskyj, Theophilakt Lopatynskyj, Teophan Prokopovych — and the list is by no means exhausted. The Moscow of these days had very few and not the most prominent names with which to confront this host. It is quite comprehensible that, in these circumstances, Peter I should have had too great a predilection for those products of culture, which had developed in Ukraine under the immediate influence of Western intellectual life. The contribution of Ukraine to the public life of Russia is perhaps best characterised by two men, Stefan Javorskyj and Theophan Prokopovych, both of them students and professors at the Kyiv Academy, the first of whom became "Administrator of the Patriarchal See" after Peter had decided to renounce the patriarchate, while the second was active as a reformer of church administration in Russia and as the Tsar's adviser in all important matters of state.

This process of the mutual penetration of the physical power 177
of the North with the intellectual strength of the South, initiated by Peter the Great's reforms, did not bring lasting blessing to either. It was natural that Ukraine, politically crushed and intellectually exploited to the full by Moscow during the 19th century should have been obliged to lead the shadow of an existence; but neither was Moscow, the fortunate profiteer of this relationship, capable of maintaining the supremacy it owed to the artificial appropriation of European culture, for the products of western culture which had been transplanted from the south as the foundation of public life proved to be too weak to sustain the edifice of the gigantic empire in times of crisis. Even before the catastrophe, in the second half of the

177 19th century, there were numerous intellectuals in Russia who turned from a Europe which they alleged to be disintegrating towards the East, their spiritual home. From their own point of view the leaders of the new Russia are certainly right in postulating the Eurasian solution of this problem. But this natural process brings that part of Ukraine which is still incorporated with Russia into an extremely difficult position as the trends of its development and its sympathies are entirely opposed to such a course.

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RD1 Ukraine RD1

Education

The history of education and schools in Ukraine dates from the tenth century when Christianity was introduced. The mass of the original native population had little interest in schools and learning so that the real representatives of scholarship were to be found among the higher clergy and at court. Documentary evidence proves that at this time there was a considerable circle of scholars in Kyiv and that Yaroslav the Wise had Greek books translated and founded a library, perhaps the first to be found in the century, in the church of St. Sophia. 871

This work, so important from the point of view of cultural history, accomplished by the Kyiv princes in the province of teaching and education, came to an abrupt end in the 13th century when the Tatar hordes flooded the country. This caused the centers of culture to be shifted still further into the principality of Galicia-Volynia. The same fate overtook the other Ukrainian countries which were annexed to Poland. In spite of the difficulties and unrest prevailing in these areas their level of education was comparatively high, compared with neighboring countries. The Ukrainian language was recognised in the principality of Lithuania as the language of state and court and when the union with Poland took place, original Ukrainian culture was at least equal to Polish. In the course of time, however, this relationship was changed.

Education in Ukrainian territory was exclusively organised by the clergy. This disintegration of the life of the Orthodox Church in the 15th and 16th centuries was therefore of enormous importance for the cultural standing of the country; it was disastrous as, just then, Poland's intellectual life was most

371 flourishing and the Jesuits began to launch a campaign of religious propaganda on Ukrainian territory as well. They founded schools which attracted the aristocracy of Ukraine so that this section of society of unquestioned importance for the future of the nation became entirely Polish.

The influence of the Reformation in the 16th century was relatively weak in Ukraine. And yet a desire to improve prevailing conditions did exist and gave indeed rise to the first modest attempts to bring about from within a reform of the Orthodox Church and of the educational system depending on it. Thus, towards the end of the 16th century the first Ukrainian college was organised in Ostroh by Konstantin Ostrozhskyj, the greatest Ukrainian magnate.

The brotherhoods, or guilds, now the only leaders of the Ukrainian nation in its continued struggle for religious and cultural independence, since the nobility had become completely Polish, also sought to promote education. Such centers of mental organisation were formed throughout Ukraine, those in Wilno, Lviv, Brest, Lutsk and later in Kyiv playing the main part. They regarded it as their main function to found schools which, organised on western models, should take up cudgels against the Latin schools and Jesuit colleges. The curricula of these schools included in addition to subjects of a religious nature, Old Slavonic and Greek, grammar, dialectics, rhetoric and themes of philosophy; the Lviv school, as an exception, got permission from the king of Poland to include Latin in its curriculum.

The brotherhoods lacked material means of developing more extensive cultural activity. They therefore had to look round for a new power in Ukrainian life to support them in their struggle against Roman Catholicism and Poland. And this power they found in the Cossacks. As a result of a shift in the center of political power, Kyiv, which was very near the Cossack territory, became once more the center of culture. There at the beginning of the 17th century the college founded by the Metropolitan Mohyla was organised and became an institute which has played an eminent part in the education and culture of entire Eastern Europe. Peter Mohyla, himself a product of Catholic Jesuit education, and related to the most important

Polish magnates, was all his life a zealous devotee of western culture and of the Catholic Church. His whole activity was inspired by a spirit which certainly was directed towards the west; but as far as dogma was concerned he remained absolutely loyal to the Orthodox Church. It is comprehensible that the school under his direction should have pursued the same policy of reconciliation between points of view that had been hitherto diametrically opposed to each other. Latin was the basis of instruction; but, in addition, Church Slavonic, Greek and Polish were also taught. The greatest attention was paid to theology, but logic, physics and metaphysics were also on the curriculum.

The educational work done by different brotherhood schools with the Kyiv Academy at their head, brought a rich harvest. The general level of education rose considerably. But the state's position of dependence was in those days an insuperable barrier to the development of a system of education in Ukraine and to the growth of national pedagogic ideals. As a result of the disastrous outcome of the Cossack wars Ukraine was divided into two spheres of influence. After the partition of Poland about the turn of the 18th century almost the whole Ukrainian territory was occupied by Russia.

The methods applied by the imperial government in the 19th century to make Russians out of Ukrainians were cruel. The Ukrainians were denied all rights to existence as an independent people in the hope that they would be absorbed by the great mass of Russia. It is obvious that there could be no question of a Ukrainian educational system under such circumstances. It was not till the Revolution broke out in 1905 that an improvement, if a brief, set in. An actual renaissance was only possible when the Russian empire collapsed in 1917. During the short period of political independence (1918—1920), two Ukrainian universities were founded in Kyiv and Kamianets Podilskyj, while a host of secondary schools and thousands of elementary schools sprang into being, in all of which Ukrainian was the language of instruction. At the old universities of Kyiv, Kharkiv and Odessa which had been allowed to retain Russian as the vehicle of instruction, new chairs had been established for the Ukrainian language, history, history of the Ukrainian law, and literature.

The professional training of young teachers was already being given in the competent faculties, in pedagogic colleges, training colleges and in the (usually) short courses for training teachers. A large staff of intellectual workers, who would help to educate the people in national culture, was to be trained in a short space of time. By the end of 1918 there existed on Ukrainian territory 47 208 elementary schools, 474 secondary schools for boys, 362 for girls, 91 commercial schools, 9 theological training colleges for priests and 30 church schools. But this natural development was interrupted by the new civil war the final result of which was the creation of a Ukrainian Soviet Republic and the subjection to Moscow of the entire public life in Ukraine.

In keeping with the principles on which the Bolshevist theory of education was founded, the school had first and foremost to be pressed into the service of a militant communism and thus contribute a good share to the revolutionising of society. Paragraph 12 in the program of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party expressly states that "the school must not merely become a herald of communist principles in general but also an instrument by means of which the organised proletariat could spread ideas of organisation and education among the half-proletarian classes of the population, so that a new generation might arise which would be able to abolish class distinctions entirely and thus finally bring about the realisation of communism."

The basic plan of enlightening the people in the U.S.S.R. included the following: the social education of children, vocational teaching in schools, political enlightenment outside of school, scientific work and an expensive publishing concern as a basic measure for spreading enlightenment. This system of education provided for the needs of communist youth as follows:

1. Social education of children from 4 to 8 years old (children's clubs, gardens, grounds, houses and towns).

2. Social education at school (uniform 7-year school in two sections, one for pupils from 8 to 12, and one for the 12 to 15 years old).

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDI Ukraine RDI

3. Vocational training which started at 15 and included the following stages: 871

a) a vocational school lasting 2 or 3 years giving courses in industrial subjects, machinery, agriculture, medicine and economics, followed by a practical year for the purpose of preparing qualified workers. After graduating from that

b) a technical institute with a course of 3 years for advanced study, the results of which were to be applied to practice. Scientific tasks were performed in

c) institutes with professorial chairs for training highly qualified practical experts and also by

d) academies with a 2 years' course for the purpose of training young scholars and researchers in every province of science.

What cannot fail to strike us in this basic plan is the entire absence of universities and other colleges which are replaced mainly by institutes, academies and faculties for working men. As far as the institutes are concerned, the champions of this system of education maintain that it was only possible to establish them after a severe struggle against the university system, "which preserved important remnants of mediaeval scholastic learning,, dissolved scientific research in philosophical thought and had radically reduced the scientific function of the university to a minimum." The universities, therefore, were played out and had to be replaced by another form of higher learning.

The institutes for the education of the public, which were formed out of the old universities with the help of teachers from former teachers' training colleges, are a special group. They possess three faculties, viz. 1. the faculty of social education intended to train teachers for the communal gardens and for the elementary schools, 2. the faculty of vocational training which, as its name implies, had to supply the vocational schools and technical schools with teachers and finally 3. the faculty for political enlightenment; this last faculty trained propagandists and lecturers to enlighten wide circles of the population, teachers 874

874 for party schools, for workmen's clubs and centers of adult education in the country.

871 In the course of years this basic scheme underwent many changes till it was adapted to the general Soviet scheme in 1932; by a resolution passed by the Central Executive of the Communist Party on August 25 of that year the 7-year elementary school in Ukraine was transformed into a 10-year school, a third section being added, and the technical schools which had not yet become institutes were put on the same level as the higher schools; new universities had to be founded in order to cope with the difficult tasks of cultural reconstruction. It is not our place here to criticise this or that measure; in order to evaluate these radical reforms properly one would have not only to examine the plans but also their application in practice and the results they achieved.

We are, however, particularly interested in the national element in the general system of communist education which finds articulate expression in the language used.

195 871 In the original Ukrainian Socialist Republic the Ukrainian language was to have priority as the official language; this point of view was approved even in 1920 after the Revolution and steps were taken to make Ukrainian the vehicle of instruction throughout the schools where this had not already been done. Ukrainian nationalists were quick to seize this opportunity of promoting their native tongue and to aim at positive results at least in this province. But the growth in national consciousness among the broad masses of workmen and peasants due to the intensified use of the Ukrainian language began to make communist leading circles in the country uneasy. Russian was introduced as a second official language, by which the authorities hoped to put a brake on nationalism and to prevent Ukrainian influences from becoming too strong. Thus there were throughout Ukraine schools taught in two, and even three languages in order that Russian and Jewish minorities might enjoy their own rights. This preference shown to national minorities greatly handicapped the proper official language, a fact that was the more striking the higher the level of school investigated. The position of Ukrainian was most precarious at the universities,

as was frankly admitted by the official representatives at the 195
People's Commissariat for education. The shortage of teachers 871
able to lecture in Ukrainian, the lack of Ukrainian text-books and the poor development of Ukrainian scientific terminology were quoted as excuses; sometimes also the hostile attitude of some of the professors.

The same thing could be noticed in the attendance of schools by pupils of different nationality. In all vocational schools there were 53,1 % Ukrainians, 20 % Russians, and 22,5 % Jews while the population was composed as follows: 80 % Ukrainians, 9.2 % Russians, and 5.4 % Jews. Circumstances were even less favorable to the Ukrainians at the universities where the percentage of Ukrainian students sank in proportion as Jewish and Russian quotas increased. The "purges" that were conducted at universities from time to time carried off mainly Ukrainians, thereby still further reducing the proportion of students from the nation to which the majority of the population belonged.

The provinces in Eastern Galicia and Bucovina which had 871
fallen to Austria were incorporated in the general educational system in that country. The efforts of the Ukrainian population in the second half of the 19th century were confined to preserving the national character of the schools. In this they only partially succeeded, as the Poles were hostile to these efforts. To be able to educate their young people along national lines, the Ukrainians founded a series of private schools about the turn of the century which were maintained by public Ukrainian contributions. At the same time a severe struggle arose round Lviv university, which the Polish authorities in Galicia had transformed from an originally German and then Ukrainian-Polish university to an almost entirely Polish center of education. Circumstances were more favorable in Bucovina where the Ukrainians were tolerated by the Germans to satisfy their national claims.

In consequence of the unhappy outcome of the war between Poland and Ukraine (1919), Eastern Galicia was incorporated in the Polish state, whereby the position of the Ukrainians became much worse than it had been under Austria. According to the last Austrian school statistics there were 2612 elementary schools in Eastern Galicia where Ukrainian was the vehicle of instruction. During the school-year 1927/28 there were only 745 of such elementary schools, and, on the other hand, 2325 taught in Polish and 1635 bilingual schools (Polish and Ukrainian). Matters were worse in the schools in north-western Ukrainian territory, i. e. in Volynia. Polessya, Podlakhia and the Kholm district. In the latter two areas there was not a single Ukrainian elementary school. In the administration of Volynia there were 4 out of 1144 elementary schools taught in Ukrainian, 390 were bilingual and 750 Polish. It is also to be noted that the schools taught in Ukrainian were always inferior schools, for of the 917 Ukrainian elementary schools in Eastern Galicia in 1926, 842 were schools with only one or two rooms.

Following the example of other European states, Poland also developed all kinds of vocational schools. But in the entire Ukrainian territory under Poland there was not a single vocational school taught in Ukrainian and Ukrainians who wished to study at Polish vocational schools met with great difficulties. The Plebiscite Law of July 31, 1924, forbids the Ukrainian population to erect vocational and secondary schools and teachers' training colleges in which Ukrainian is the vehicle of instruction. Bilingual secondary schools only may be founded. In the while on Ukrainian territory under Poland there was not one state Ukrainian vocational school nor one state college for training teachers taught in Ukrainian.

While Lviv was under Austria there were some chairs at the university where lectures were held in Ukrainian, but these were immediately abolished as soon as Poland occupied the town. And it must be recalled that according to the law of September 20, 1922, the Polish government had promised to erect a Ukrainian university within two years, which promise was never fulfilled.

From 1920—1924 there was in Lviv a Ukrainian university with three faculties which was forbidden by the Polish authorities and had to operate secretly. This proved impossible in the long run and the university had to be dissolved. In order to put a stop to Polish penetration the Ukrainian people tried to create a private school system of their own within the frontiers of Poland. In 1932/33 there were 15 Ukrainian secondary schools, 6 teachers' training colleges, 4 vocational schools, 5 advanced vocational schools, 4 schools for trades and 31 elementary schools. These schools received no subsidy from the state and were subjected to different methods of persecution on the part of Polish school authorities.

In the Bucovina, too, things took a turn for the worse when this country was occupied by Roumania after the dèbâcle of 1918. In 1919 already, Ukrainian schools were forced to make way for Roumanian and after a few years there were neither any more schools taught in Ukrainian nor any Ukrainian chairs at the Chernivtsi university. It was even forbidden to study Ukrainian and teachers were not allowed to give explanations in their mother-tongue to children who did not understand Roumanian. Ukrainian universities in Czechoslovakia deserve special mention; firstly because they offered a refuge to professors who had fled from their home and secondly because they made it possible for a large number of young people to finish their study which the First World War had interrupted. The first to be founded in 1921 was the Ukrainian Free University in Prague which still exists since 1945 in Munich; it has two faculties, a faculty of law and a falculty of arts which comprises departments for history and languages, mathematics and natural science. This university has many and various functions and aims. The national education of youth comes first and so most emphasis is put on those subjects that cannot be taught at foreign universities on account of their specifically Ukrainian character. In addition, they aim at training scientific workers and the professors of the future capable of teaching at Ukrainian schools to be founded later. Other colleges which sprang up in Czechoslovakia soon after the university was founded, were the Agricultural College in Podjebrady, presently at Regensburg, and the Teachers' training College (liquidated in 1930) as well as the Academy of Fine Arts in Prague.

Music

533 Ukrainian music did not make an appearance in general European musical literature till the end of the 18th century, a fact which may surprise an outsider in a people of more than 40 millions whose songs enjoy world-wide reputation. Here, too, natural development has been held up by political dependence and subjection to a foreign state.

Christmas, spring and harvest songs are probably among the oldest products of Ukrainian music, but also songs about the most important events in human life, such as birth, marriage, and death. Their archaic character points to an origin in far-distinct, nebulous, pre-historic times. After the introduction of Christianity, these songs were subject to Greek influence which finds expression to a certain extent in their structure. But the golden age of the Ukrainian song is from the 16th to the 18th century, i. e. the heroic age of Ukrainian history. History raises a new voice in the lyrical-epic songs, recitative in character, which glorify the heroic deeds of the Cossacks in their battles against the Turks, Tatars and Poles. — This type of song belonged above all to the repertory of the minstrels (Kobsars = singers) organised in a guild of their own to watch over their interests as a profession. Like the Bards and Troubadours of the Middle Ages these minstrels or Kobsars wander far and wide through the plains of Ukraine, welcome guests not only in the mansions of magnates and landed proprietors, but also in the kitchens of farmhouses and simple Cossacks. In its later development the Ukrainian folk-song approaches more closely the musical products of Europe, with their definite separation of minor and major keys and regular harmonies. But in spite of these concessions, characteristic features which give it its peculiar stamp, were by no means lost. In a letter to an acquaintance Count Tolstoi emphasises that no other national music — not even that of Russia proper — has proclaimed its peculiar character so insistently as the Ukrainian. When we listen to it, the whole history of Ukraine passes before our inward eye, and we understand the character of the people far better that by reading Gogol and Konyskyj (Ukrainian writers). 533

Church music was introduced into Ukraine after the country had become Christian under Grand Prince Volodymyr the Great, whose consort, the Greek princess Joanna, brought to Kyiv not only priests but also church singers. The old chronicler relates that, at the time of Yaroslav the Wise three Greek singers came to ancient Rus with their families and that the "eight-part angelic singing" originated with them. These church songs were modified in the course of centuries when they were handed on from "ear to ear"; in this way they took on many of the characteristics of the Ukrainian folksong, including the "subsidiarv parts", a special counterpoint feature in this folk music.

The Tatars who destroyed the political structure of Ukraine, left the church in peace. The simple Byzantine forms of church music penetrated into the lives of the people, thereby enriching their still primitive culture. The conquest of Ukraine by Poland and Lithuania and the spread of Roman Catholicism with its polyphonic vocal and instrumental music (mainly organ) forced the Orthodox clergy in Ukraine to cultivate the more complicated choir singing, which, to-day, is still the sole representative of Ukrainian church music. This choir singing, supported by church brotherhoods, was preserved throughout Ukraine till the end of the 17th century, The sons of the rich old Cossack nobility who brought back samples of the music of Western Europe from their tours, also contributed to the music of the country. In Kyiv the peculiar "concerto" form arose in which the tutti of the choir alternated solos. The Italian works of composers as Giovanni Palestrina, Alessandro Scarlatti and their successors, Giuseppe Sarti and Baldassare Galuppi were widely known in Ukraine; under their influence, at the turn of the 18th century a specifically Ukrainian "Italian church choir style" was formed, whose most eminent interpreters, the composers of our older music, were Demeter Bortnianskyj (1721—1825), Maksym Berezovskyj (1745—1777), and Artem Wedel (1767—1806). All three were students at the Kyiv Academy, Bortnianskyj and Berezovskyj finished their studies in Italy, the former in Venice, Rome and Naples, the latter in Bologna. The style of church music created by all three, but particularly by Bortnianskyj, was not only supreme in all classes of Ukrainian society, but also acquired a dominating position in other nations of Greek-Orthodox faith. Bortnianskyj, the greatest of the trio, after finishing his studies in Italy, spent the rest of his life as conductor of the court orchestra in St. Petersburg, which explains why he is known throughout the world as a Russian composer in spite of the obvious indications that he belonged to the sphere of Ukrainian culture.

After the North had drained away the best men and when the political situation of Ukraine had became deplorable under the Russian Empire, all independent activity in the province of culture, and consequently of music, gradually ceased. It is true that in the middle of the 19th century the old musical tradition was transplanted from the Dnipro area to Galicia (M. Verbytskyj 1815—1870 and I. Lavrivskyj 1822—1973) but this did not last long and musical culture finally decayed here, too. The creative power of Ukrainian music in the 18th and 19th centuries also found expression in opera and light opera. Bortnianskyj had already written operas, such as "Creonte" and "Quinto Fabio" which were performed in Italy, but in this case music and libretto were too foreign to appeal to Ukrainian society. But with the spread of the romantic movement and its preference for motives from popular life, Ukrainian composers turned for themes to country life or to the heroic deeds of the Cossacks. Thus arose the light opera by Prince Shahovskyj (1777—1846), "Cossack the Rhymester", and the classical musical comedy by Ivan Kotlarevskyj, "Natalka Poltavka", Hulak-Artemovskyj's (1813—1873) opera, "The Zaporog Cossack beyond the Danube", which is strongly reminiscent of Mozart's "Il Seraglio", the opera-like, through often banal setting of

Shevchenko's "Kateryna" by Mykola Arkas (1852—1909) and 533
many others.

Mykola Lysenko (1842—1912), a musician who was successful 814
in all branches of his art, and his successors created a revolution 533 in music in Ukraine. After graduating from the Leipzig Conservatoire Lysenko returned to Ukraine. He took the folk-song as the basis of his compositions but, while it had hitherto been treated as something primitive, Lysenko seeks in it the essence of the musical ego of the Ukrainian people. He tries first to establish the scale of the Ukrainian folk-song and to develop from it a suitable harmony. He worked like a professor of ethnography and investigated the abundant material at his disposal according to scientific methods, no other nation possessing such a rich treasure of songs, both as regards quality and quantity. Without going into a detailed analysis of the Ukrainian folk-song, we may add that most of them are part songs, where each part is independent, and starts one after the other finally combining with the first voice, which results in an original counterpoint and rich harmonious melody. Lysenko was aware of the great wealth of Ukrainian folk-songs, but also of the great difficulty of studying it in its entirety. But the work had to be done as a guarantee of the further organic development of music in Ukraine. He did not consider it right to graft the music of Western Europe onto Ukrainian products, for he was perhaps the first to understand that Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Wagner and Brahms were first and foremost German composers who constructed their works on a scale derived from the German folk-song and that the roots of this folk-song lie deep in German musical consciousness.

The impulse given by Lysenko expressed itself first in vocal 533
music; M. Leontovych (1877—1921) and K. Stetsenko (1882—1922) are products of the movement which he initiated. Their works are a synthesis of the impressive technique derived from the old vocal music of the 16th century on the one hand and of the Ukrainian folk-song on the other, from which they drew not only their motives but also their inspiration. This explains the enormous success of the Koshyts choir when it toured Europe from capital to capital, from Vienna to Berlin, Paris and London.

533 After the war ot 1914—1918, Lysenko's principles began to make themselves felt in instrumental music too, thereby opening new possibilities of development in all provinces, from trifling compositions to symphonies and operas. Stanislav Ludkevytsh (1879) meant a turning-point in the history of Ukrainian music in Western Ukraine; he created music in the European sense, which, on the basis of his own studies and the researches of Filaret Kolessa (1871—1947), the folklorist, penetrates the real being of the Ukrainian folk-song and tries to utilise its materials. His chief merit, however, lies in his having proved that, contrary to the traditional view, it is possible to express the national character in instrumental as well as vocal music, and indeed, if properly managed, orchestration can preserve the individuality of Ukrainian music better than compositions for the voice. The spirit of our folk-song breathes from his compositions, whether it be his great symphony for orchestra, chorus and solos, the "Caucasus", his "Valse melancolique" his "Rhapsody of the Ukrainian Legion", or his small chorus songs, mostly with orchestral accompaniment.

A group of younger composers in Western and Eastern Ukraine have deliberately chosen instrumental music as their mode of expression in order to fill up the gap in this art and thus contribute something essential to the culture of Ukraine. Vasyl Barvinskyj (1888), director of the Ukrainian Academy of Music in Lviv, a neo-romantic, a master of chamber-music, a pupil of Vitezslav Novak (Prague) whose whole work was founded on the Slovakian folk-song, fully utilises the treasures hidden in the Ukrainian folk-song, in his works for the piano, the cello, in solos and symphonic poems. Similar in style is the work of Nestor Nyzhankivskyj (1893—1940), the son of a Ukrainian composer of the 19th century and a pupil of Marx the Austrian composer and pedagogue. The more radical tendency in this group is represented by Zenon Lysko (1895) and Mykola Kolessa (1898), who have liberated themselves from the finished folk-song and merely try to compose in the same spirit. In his work (piano, chamber-music, symphonies) Anton Rudnytskyj breaks away entirely from national music and tries to being Ukrainian music into

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine RDl

one line with the extreme tendencies in Europe and with ideals of modern composers. 533

In the Ukrainian Soviet Republic the turn to instrumental music was still more striking than in compositions by musicians in Western Ukraine. The most radical and modern composers, as far as technique and mode of expression are concerned is Boris Latoshynskyj (1895), a professor in the Kyiv Institute of Music and the composer of works for piano, violin, string quartettes, piano trios, symphonies and musical illustrations to films. At first he was under the influence of Russian reformers, but later took to writing atonal music and finally found his way to the source of national Ukrainian music in his overture to 4 Ukrainian songs and his opera, "The Golden Hoop".

Lew Revutskyj (1888) is a strong, rugged personality, though at the beginning he was under the influence of Rahmaninow and Chopin, and later of Scriabin and even of Chaikovsky. These foreign elements, however, were melted in the fire of his individuality to creations which have echoes of the folk-song while providing us with samples of modern Ukrainian music. These include his preludes for the piano, concertos for the piano, symphonies, songs etc. The third representative of great musical forms (sonate, symphony, piano concerto, opera), Victor Kosenko (1896), a professor at the Lysenko Institute in Kyiv, is a more moderate, lyrical nature, Pylyp Kozytskyj (1893), the editor of the review, "Music for the Masses" and Mychajlo Verykivskyj (1896), the conductor of the opera in Kharkiv, form a special group; although both also express themselves in large forms, their special field is the instrumental and vocal miniature. Kozytskyj's forte is vocal music where he continues the glorious traditions of Leontovych. —

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The Fine Arts

1. Architecture

341 346 The first influences of art began to make themselves felt in the ancient Ukrainian territory in the 10th century when the Christian faith was introduced from Byzantium. Thus the famous cathedral of St. Sophia, a monumental building, was erected at Kyiv in the years 1017—1035 in the reign of Grand Prince Yaroslav the Wise. Formerly the "Hagia Sophia" in Constantinople was thought to be the model for it but probably it was copied from the so-called New-Church (Nea), built by Basil I in the 9th century in the Greek capital. All buildings belonging to the earliest period in Ukrainian history have since then been so often destroyed, transformed, supplemented and changed that we are obliged to fall back on suppositions. The church of the Kyiv Cave Monastery was different from the cathedral of St. Sophia. It was founded in 1075 by Grand Prince Svyatoslav II and served as a model for a whole series of Kyiv monasteries. The church of the Cyrill monastery at Kyiv, dating from 1140, was similar in style as were also the church of the Vydubytskyj monastery (1108), the Trinity Church built over the portal of the Cave monastery (1106), the Cathedral of the Redeemer in Chernyhiv with its well preserved construction, and many more.

The best creation of the Galician school of architecture is the relatively well-preserved Panteleymon Church in Halych, built about 1209 and later transformed into a Franciscan convent.

341 The 14th, 15th and 16th centuries are a transitional period in the history of Ukrainian architecture, when gothic and renaissance influence did probably penetrate into Ukraine, though they were not sufficiently widely spread nor uniform enough to pro-

duce any acknowledged style there. It cannot, however, be denied that in Eastern Ukraine several gothic monuments of repute have been preserved, e. g. in Kyiv (Church of Peter and Paul), in Lubni, and in Sutkivtsi in Podolia, while traces of gothic even in remote parts of Ukrainian national territory were to be found down to the middle of the 17th century. Gothic style came mainly from Silesia, via Cracow, and by way of western Carpatho-Ukraine and Transylvania and it were German masters who spread it in Ukraine. In the time of the renaissance we find many Italians from Lombardy and Switzerland working in Ukraine. Neither style played such an important part in the architecture of churches as in secular buildings, in town-halls, for instance, or patricians' houses, and fortifications erected in the towns of Western Ukraine such as Lviv, Yaroslav, Zamosts, Peremyshl and Lutsk.

Baroque style, like renaissance architecture, also came from Italy, and that by two channels: from Rome and from the old Genoese colonies in the Crimea, who, although they had been conquered by Tatars, absorbed their conquerors in time and made them Italian. Thus baroque in Ukraine assumed two forms — Jesuit baroque in Western Ukraine and Cossack baroque in Central Ukraine, a most original form of expression with many national features. Church dignitaries and the higher Cossack leaders were the patrons of this flourishing Ukrainian architecture; Mazeppa alone had five large churches built or restored in Kyiv. The following are the most important examples of this architectural style: The St. Nicholas Military Cathedral, 1690—1694, built by Hetman Mazeppa; the Church of the Assumption of Christ of the Kyiv brotherhood, built in 1695 by the same patron; the Church of the Trinity in Chernyhiv (1679); and the church of the Mharskyj monastery (1682—1694) which owes its foundation to Hetman Samoylovych.

Both of these variants, the Jesuit baroque in Western Ukraine and the Cossack baroque in the central area were, as in the rest of Europe in the 18th century, gradually transformed into rococo which style in Ukraine preserved the national features of its predecessors. The Cathedral of St. George in Lviv is undoubtedly the finest and most impressive example of this

341 style. Classicism, which first appeared at the beginning of the 18th century, finds its most complete expression in the magnificent palaces in Baturyn built for the last Ukrainian Hetman Rozumovskyj (Cyrill, 1728—1803) by Charles Cameron, an Englishman, in 1800 in Potshep, from plans by Vallen de la Motte, and in other mansions of Ukrainian magnates. In Ukraine, the classical style underwent three phases of development, corresponding to what Western Europeans know as Louis XIV, Empire and Biedermeier and marks the end of the efforts to achieve an independent architecture in Ukraine. In 1801, at the same time as selfgovernment was abolished for Ukraine, a law was passed, forbidding the erection of churches in Ukrainian style; finished plans were provided from St. Petersburg from which buildings had to be erected in the time to come.

In the second half of the 19th century, architecture in Ukraine was subjected to historical influences deriving from the romantic movement in Western Europe which resulted in a pseudo-Byzantine style. This was introduced into Ukraine by force and did not succeed in reviving architectural impulses there. Before the war, attempts were made to recussitate the baroque style with its national features in connection with the revival of national architecture in wood which was reconstructed by ethnographical experts and propagated mainly by the architects Vasyl Krychevskyj (1872), Serhij Tymoshenko (1881), and others. In the Ukraine of recent times the functional architecture of the west has gained the upper hand, its main monuments being the building of the State Trust at Kharkiv, the electricity works in Kyiv, the cloth factory in Kreminchuk and the buildings of the Dniprelstan.

2. Sculpture

532 The first traces of sculpture in Ukraine date back to Greek times, but not earlier than the fourth century before Christ. Under the Grand Princes sculpture naturally flourished in connection with the lively building activity of that time; but relatively few monuments have survived and these are not of any particular value. In the 14th and 15th centuries western influences make themselves felt in this province and appear in reliefs as a palimpsest on old Byzantine motives from icono-

graphy. The sculpture that has survived from the times of the renaissance — mostly tombs — presents figures in complete armor lying or reclining in a fitting architectural setting, similar to Venetian or North Italian sculpture. Among the most interesting are the tomb of the Grand Prince Constantin Ostrozhskyj "the brave champion and protector of the faith of the East" in the Cave Monastery in Kyiv, bearing the date 1534, the monument to M. Herburt in Lviv Cathedral, a creation of the Nuremberg master P. Labenwolf, and many others. The influence of the renaissance is most noticeable in sculptured ornament, above all in the framework of icons, some splendid examples of which have been preserved in Lviv and Rohatyn.

Decorative sculpture developed still further in the baroque era and found new forms of expression in ornament in churches, on graves and in icons carved in wood. The baroque icon settings are fairly complicated in structure, sometimes several stories high, richly carved, with marvellous ornament with unmistakably Ukrainian characteristics; they are, indeed, the greatest creations of the Ukrainian people in the province of sculpture.

The collapse of the Hetman State in the second half of the 18th century was naturally not favorable to cultural life in Ukraine. The creations of Ivan Martos (1752—1835) and Michael Kozlovskyj (1753—1802) belong to the annals of Russian art although both were products of Ukrainian culture. Martos, the more important of the two, a pupil of Canova, later a professor and the rector of the Academy of Art in Petersburg, was the real creator of Russian sculpture, for he not only enriched it with his own works, but inspired a large number of eminent students whom he taught. The same is true of Kozlovskyj, although in his case a too early death cut short his development. Ukrainian culture was the loser; it was robbed of its most able representatives and forced to play a secondary rôle, and in time forfeited all individuality in the province of creative art.

Some sculptors with a deep national consciousness must be mentioned among the pioneers of typically Ukrainian sculpture; they were romantics who emphasised the peculiarity of Ukrainian sculpture by choosing popular or historical subjects. Michael Mykyshyn (1836—1896), the creator of the monument to Bohdan

Khmelnytskyj, the well-known illustrator of the books of Gogol and Shevchenko was not outstanding in technique but he was distinguished for the powerful sweep of his artistic imagination. Fedir Kamenskyj (1822) who emigrated to America where he was a professor of sculpture in New York till his death, gave us one of the first busts of Shevchenko. Parmen Zabilo (1830—1890) sculpted a monument to Gogol in Nishyn, busts of Shevchenko in Chernyhiv, and of the Ukrainian artist Borowykovskyj, of Galagan and others. Leonid Posen (1849—1921), was famed as the artist of the monument to Kotlyarevskyj with its well-known reliefs representing the literary creations of the founder of Ukrainian literature. Worthy of mention is Vladimir Beclemishev (1861), who brought new life to academic traditions and created noble forms, as is also Fedir Balavenskyj (1864) whose work is a happy union of classical tradition and folklore elements; he created a number of impressive works among which the best known are "The Olympic Games" and "The Triumph of Phryne". His allegorical figures on the edifice of the Red Cross in Kyiv, "Medicine", "Mercy", "Love", and "Life" are of great artistic merit. Peter Wijtovych (1862), a pupil of Zumbusch (Vienna) and Gregor Kuznevych (1871) were contemporaries of Balavenskyj in Galicia. The latter finished his training in Italy, then went to America where he produced monumental works in Cleveland, Pittsburg and Philadelphia. Michael Parashchuk, (born in 1889), who also worked abroad, is a master of the monumental style in commercial architecture. Michael Havrylko (1882—1919), a late romantic, showed great talent and was the artist of the popular plan for the Shevchenko monument in Kyiv in which mastery over form is combined with imagination of wide sweep and a tendency to romanticism.

Modern Ukrainian sculpture reached a level of excellence which guaranteed it a place in the annals of European culture. Its strength lay in the group of artists who carried on the experimental traditions of the monumentalists. Their most classical representative is Bernhard Cratko (born in 1884), professor at the Art Academy in Kyiv, characterised by a synthetic monumental style and a tendency to neo-classicism. Another member of the same group is Nastja Pysarenko with a distinctively individual style which has inspired a new school that emphasised national elements and permitted of no compromise with regard to style. Konstantin Stakhovskyj, an emigree, is, as a sculptor of animals, a class by himself; his statues from models in the zoos in Berlin, Vienna and London have won general recognition.

The neo-romantics, Oksana Laturynska, Fedir Yemets, Bohdan Mukhyn, and Hryhor Kruk form a special group of contemporary sculptors; their works are poems in stone while displaying a most modern understanding and feeling for form. Aleksander Arkhypenko (1887), a Ukrainian sculptor who is known far beyond the confines of his native country, occupies a niche of his own. As long ago as 1913, when he emigrated to America, he managed to arouse great interest in art circles in Europe. He has turned his back on the physical phenomena of the world of nature and tries to express his inner logic and psychology by means of his own and by increased dynamics. But what this sculptor creates is not a product of the Ukrainian spirit; the eccentric, the abnormal, the artificial in his creations has nothing at all to do with the healthy instincts of peasant people rooted in its own soil.

Painting

The actual history of Ukrainian painting, as of Ukrainian art as a whole, begins with the chronicles of the country's history as a state, i. e. at the time when this state first appeared on the stage of the world as a new factor of power. The frescos and mosaics whose brilliant coloring illumined St. Sophia and other monumental churches of the Kyiv state, bear witness to a level of ability that is not often reached in the same province in the Europe of that time. The artists themselves are anonymous, but we may probably assume that the earliest were Greeks whose work was continued by pupils whom they trained on the spot. The best preserved of these monuments are the famous mosaics in the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kyiv, "Pantokrator", the apostles, the evangelists, "Oranta" etc. The most interesting of the frescos in the same church are those depicting secular scenes from the life of the Grand Princes in the 11th century. In the 14th and 15th centuries Ukrainian artists were given

532 commissions, not only in Lithuania, but also in Poland, where they had to compete with artists from Western Europe. It were Ukrainian artists to whom Casimir the Great and Yagello entrusted the execution of the difficult frescos in the churches of Sandomir and Lublin, or in the Royal Castle on the Vavel — to mention only the most important examples. Western influences on the style of the East came from afar. The most certain source was Nuremberg whose artists either personally ventured into Galicia, or sent their creations there. We know that Veit Stoss, Hans Kulmbach, and Dürer's brother worked in Cracow; the picture of the Resurrection in the Lviv National Museum reminds us vividly of a similar composition by Wohlgemuth, the Nuremberg master, and even of an early work in the Munich Pinakothek by Dürer, Wohlgemuth's pupil.

Dutch and Italian influences are also obvious. They are represented in Ukraine above all by Fedushko of Sambir, the most talented artist in the time of the renaissance in Ukraine, whose "Annunciation", painted in 1579, hung in the Ecclesiastical and Archaeological Museum in Zhytomir, (Volynia). This period whose creative impulses were so sensitive to influences from without and so varied in form, prepared the way for the amalgamation of Byzantine and western influences in Ukrainian art that found its finest expression in baroque art. This style, which was spread mainly by the Jesuits, could strike roots in the Cossack areas of Ukraine that were hostile both to Catholicism and Poland only after it had adapted itself to native life; the national features it assumed made it attractive to the taste and the views of ruling circles. Thus arose one of the most interesting and pleasing forms of art in Ukraine: Cossack baroque which developed from Jesuit baroque.

Portrait painting, the subjects of which were originally determined by icon paintings, made great strides towards realism when it included secular subjects and forsook mediaeval traditions for newer forms. While early portraits are characterised by simplicity, but also by depth of psychology, the artists of modern portraits of church dignitaries or Hetmans lay more emphasis on external expression and the representation of power.

Ukrainian painting flourished in the baroque era and had many important representatives, mostly centered round Mohyla's Academy and the Cave Monastery in Kyiv. The pictures of some masters even found recognition abroad; the portrait of the Polish king Sobieski, for instance which was executed by a Ukrainian court-painter, hangs in the Uffici Galleries in Florence.

The rococo era in the 18th and 19th centuries marked the separation of the two worlds which had combined in the earlier period to form a higher synthesis; each now went its own way. The old tendency confined itself completely to iconographic representation, sealed itself hermetically against all new influences and thus gradually froze in a rigid formalism; neither in the 18th nor in the 19th century was it able, with very few exceptions, to arouse any marked interest in the public. Modern painting turned from religious subjects to secular and historical painting, reaching such a high level that foreign critics have judged Ukrainian artists at the turn of the 18th century to be the equals of the best English and French masters. Three important Ukrainian painters spring from this period, viz. Demeter Levytskyj (1735—1822), Anton Losenko (1737—1773) and Volodymyr Borovykovskyj (1757—1825), though their work actually belongs to the subsequent period of classicism. These three artists mark the zenith and, at the same time, the end of the development of Ukrainian painting which has found new and characteristic forms of expression in the baroque era that, however, played themselves out in the rococo epoch. The painters we have mentioned are rooted in recent traditions and develop to the full the heritage of the Kyiv school. But neither were they permitted to work on their native soil; they had to go north and enrich an alien culture and, as teachers, train new generations of Russian artists. This policy of exploitation systematically applied by Petersburg to Ukraine, necessarily brought about the impoverishment of Ukrainian art in time; at the same time it uprooted native art, for when artists were transplanted into strange surroundings and no longer had any direct, organic connection with their own people, they were unable to carry on national traditions and train young native artists at home.

532 But Ukrainian art finally escaped this danger of being uprooted and losing all national content when artists realised that their power and success were founded on their native soil. Mykola Ge (1831—1894), one of the most important and profound of them and a personal friend of Tolstoi's turns his back on Petersburg at the height of success and thus saves his own talent from ruin. An examination of his works reveals no "Ukrainian subjects"; filled with the spirit of Ukrainian universal wisdom, he refrains from the often banal representation of folk-dances and national scenes from Cossack life and devotes all his power to problems of world-wide import. His last picture, the "Crucification", which was banned by the Russian censor on account of "godlessness", attempts to present this universal tragedy with new methods. Illja Rjepnin (1844—1930) a well-known artist, generally considered to be a Russian, continued to work in Petersburg, while Ivan Stanislavskyj (1860—1907), a fine landscape artist, of partly Polish extraction, was a professor at the Academy of Art in Cracow. Ivan Trush (1869—1941) who died recently, was a pupil of his; he does not treat the Ukrainian landscape but prefers strange, exotic subjects. Another of Stanislavskyj's pupils is Mykola Burachek, professor at the Kyiv Academy of Art, a master of color who can create out of nothing whole symphonies of the most delicate tones.

About the turn of the century a group of Ukrainian artists crystallised under the leadership of Mykola Samokysha (born in 1860) and Serhij Vasylkivskyj (1854—1914), who devoted themselves to the study of the monuments of the glorious past and to ancient Ukrainian art. They published a collection entitled "Ukrainian Antiques" with 20 reproductions of Ukrainian types from history and folk-lore and also "Subjects of Ukrainian Ornament in the 17th and 18th Centuries". This group, to which Ishakevych, Slastjon, Pymonenko, Martynovych, and Zhdakha also belong, concerned itself only with Ukrainian subjects. But the younger generation under the influence of the new ideas from Western Europe and of fresh national impulses at home, goes a step further and attempts an original presentation of these subjects. A number of artists of repute belong here as, for instance, Oleksander Murashko (1875—1919), who, after having had a great success in Paris, Munich and Venice, returned home with the desire to create a new center of art in the midst of national life and thus to secure a place for Ukrainian art in the cultural life of Europe. Such were also the aims of Fedir and Vasyl Krychevskyj, the latter of whom attempted to create a Ukrainian style in all forms of art, his work being appreciated in Germany, England and America. The so-called neo-Byzantine school was a distinctively original feature of those days; in contrast to the contemporary realist movement, it preached a return to the ancient traditions of Ukraine under Byzantium. The main representative of this idea, Mykhajlo Boychuk (1882—1937), discovered himself and his own style after working for a long time in Paris and later in Kyiv, where he found not only a circle of admirers, but where his activity as a teacher helped a whole generation of artists to find their own expression. Typical of these are Ivan Padalka, Osinchuk, and Sedlar — artists who generally worked in all provinces of fine art, producing graphic art, sculpture and particularly applied art. Impressionism in Ukrainian art is represented by Ivan Trush, mentioned above, whose pictures are inspired by a rich personality, and Oleksa Novakivskyj (1872—1936), who studied at the Academy in Cracow and whose Polish professors, such as Matejko, Wyspianski and Malczewski left permanent traces in his sensitive soul. Vasyl Kryzhanivskyj (1891—1926) and Victor Palmov (1888—1926) are expressionists who strive for individual form and typical coloring. Other modern movements like futurism and cubism have also found disciples without, however, leaving deep traces, while neo-classicism has found a worthy representative in Mykola Hlushchenko (1901), who made a name for himself in Berlin and Paris. Petro Kholodnyj (1876—1930) is a personality who fits into no set scheme; it was only after he emigrated that he devoted himself to art and created a whole gallery of paintings in the last ten years of his life, testifying to his infinite energy and great ability.

4. Graphic Art

Ukrainian graphic art which flourished in the second half of the 17th century and reached its zenith in the times of

532 Mazeppa had a great influence in the spread of this form of artistic expression throughout Eastern Europe, and particularly in Muscovy, Poland, Roumania and White Ruthenia.

The founder of the Ukrainian school of graphic art towards the end of the 17th century was Aleksander Tarasevych (1972—1720); he was the greatest master of copper-plate etching in the whole of Eastern Europe and was a pupil of the Augsburg Kilian brothers. We owe him not only illustrations and book ornament but also excellent portraits of contemporaries, of the Czarina Sophia, for instance, of the Hetman Samoylovych, and many others. The 18th century was under the influence of Kyiv, though other centers of engraving sprang up in Lviv, Pochayiv, Chernyhiv, and elsewhere. Unfortunately this branch of art degenerated in time into a trade whose main object was to make money.

The publication about the middle of the 19th century of an album entitled "Ukraine in Pictures" marked a turning-point in this development; it was published by Shevchenko, the talented Ukrainian poet, painter and etcher. The value of this publication probably consists in the fact that it was the first collection of plates portraying subjects from Ukrainian history and folk-lore, produced by a national hero. Shevchenko's initiative was continued by another artist, Leo Zemchuzhnikov (1828—1912), who published a large number of etchings by himself and other contemporary artists under the same title.

Ukrainian graphic art played its part in the general renaissance of the art of book production at the beginning of the 20th century, above all in the province of illustration. Vasyl Krychevskyj, who painted charming landscapes in transparent coloring and was an eminent decorative artist, was a pioneer here; in close collaboration with M. Hrushevskyj, the historian, he studied ancient traditions of book decoration in the times of the Cossacks, creating new forms of expression in national art from his analysis. His suggestions were followed by M. Boychuk who himself practised graphic art and founded an art school which counted many graphic artists among its students. The work of this group of artists is marked by its national character, expressed both in natural and conventionalised forms. George

Narbut (1886—1920), a most gifted graphic artist, opened new prospects for graphic art in Ukraine. Since childhood he had always been particularly attracted by examples of old Ukrainian writing and soon he became an accomplished artist in the art of writing. As a student of drawing, he worked in Holosy's studio in Munich and before the First World War had the reputation of being an excellent black-and-white artist. He found it difficult, however, to create his own style, cut off as he was from the influences of home. It was only after his return to Kyiv in 1917 and through his contact with Vasyl Krychevskyj, Mychajlo Boychuk and their specifically Ukrainian art that his exceptional talent could fully develop. Combining Krychevskyj's subtlety with his own fiery imagination and wild temperament, Narbut found an outlet for all his rich gifts in his Kyiv period. But, just as a meteor suddenly glows and then dies, so he came to a tragic end in Kyiv in 1920.

Krychevskyj, Boychuk and Narbut are three stars in the domain of graphic art in Ukraine who will long determine its character. Narbut's pupils are Robert Lisovskyj (1893), who supplemented his studies in Berlin; Leo Lozovskyj (1901—1922) and, perhaps the most gifted of all, Marko Kynarskyj (1893). Boychuk's group includes his wife, Sophie Nalypinska, Olena Sakhnovska (1902), Oleksander Ruban, a master of miniatures cut in wood, and Vasyl Cassian (1896) who studied in Prague and who produces monumental scenes from the lives of workmen and peasants; Krychevskyj counts among his followers M. Aleksiiv, Ivan Mozalevskyj (1890), eminent in black-and-white art and in ivory miniatures. Paul Kovshun (1896—1939) worked in Western Ukraine. He was a many-sided, productive artist who contributed much to the organisation of artistic life. Petro Kholodnyj (sen) and Mykola Butovych (1895), a student of the Leipzig Academy, belonged to his circle. In Bucharest Natalie Guerman-Russova works, in Buenos Aires V. Cymbal, in New York Zubrytskyj, in Paris P. Omelchenko and S. Zarytska who is also a good fresco artist, and Hlushchenko, already mentioned, a black-and-white artist and a water colorist; in Berlin one of the most eminent black-and-white artists, Vasyl Masjutyn, has been working for some years; he is a many-sided

532 artist whose historical portraits of the Hetmans Khmelnytskyj, Mazeppa, and Skoropadskyj are striking revelations in the province of Ukrainian art.

Museums, Archives, and Libraries

217 The earliest Ukrainian collection of historical documents and prehistoric remains was transferred at the beginning of the 19th century to Russian and Polish collections in order to prove the great ages of Russian and Polish culture. The first historical museum was founded in Chernyhiv by Vasyl Tarnovskyj (1837—1899). His example was followed by Ukrainian professors teaching at Russian universities, by scientific expeditions sent to study the country and by archaeological congresses. The Municipal Museum, the Tereshchenko Gallery and the collection of the Khanenko family which developed into the Museum of Fine Art, were founded in Kyiv. In Lviv the Stauropigian Museum was founded in 1889, the National Museum and the Museum of the Shevchenko Society of Learning in 1905. Smaller collections were opened in Poltava, Kamenets Podilskyj, Sambir, Colomea, etc. The Bucovina possesses a collection in Chernivtsi, Carpatho-Ukraine in Uzhhorod. But, nevertheless, anyone who wishes to see the most important collection of Ukrainian folk-lore, must go to the Ethnographical Museum in Petersburg.

The nationalisation of Ukrainian museums under communist rule has had a favorable influence. Measures of conservation, restoration and concentration have raised museums to a considerable level, whereas conditions are not nearly so satisfactory in Western Ukraine where there was no support from the state. The number of museums has grown from 10 in 1914 to at least 90 to-day. The museum of "The War of Liberation" in Prague is worth mentioning, as it is maintained exclusively by contributions from the Ukrainian population.

The biggest library on Ukrainian territory is the Ukrainian "People's Library" attached to the Academy of Learning in Kyiv; it contains 2 000 000 books and also great collections of newspapers, music and picture postcards. Of all publications printed in the Soviet Union a copy was to be sent to this library. In addition it conducted scientific research work, supported research activity and published reviews. The library of the Shevchenko Society of Learning in Lviv was just as important for the intellectual life of Ukraine during the last 50 years. It contained 120 000 books and was specially devoted to all matters concerning Ukraine. The "Ukraine Book Chamber", first in Kyiv and then in Kharkiv has registered book production in Ukraine since 1918. A Scientific Book Institute in Kyiv in 1922 was devoted to the study of printing in Ukraine.

Ukraine has had many archives; they are important institutions, since much has to be done towards saving from destruction material relating to the past of the country. In Kharkiv there is the "Historical Archives", the central office of the archives of the Kharkiv province, of Poltava and Chernyhiv, further the Archives of Ukrainian Printing in Poltava, the Historical Archives, comprising material dealing with the Poltava area and finally, the Central Archives of Ancient Documents attached to the Ukrainian Academy of Learning in Kyiv, containing 400 000 documents, and many others.

Literature and Science

I.

538 The literature of the Kyiv period which was mentioned in another connection found best expression in the "Song of Ihor", in which an unknown author sings of the unhappy campaign of the princes Ihor, Vsevolod, Svyatoslav and Volodymyr against the Polovtsy. This heroic epic, which must have been written before 1187, is composed of a series of short, but vivid, impressionist scenes with a tone, a rhythm and a mood of their own. It is by no means an imitation of Homer or of northern sagas or the Nibelungenlied though it is not difficult to detect marked northern elements in the work.

In addition to extensive translations in different fields of monastic literature, the following are worthy of special note as original works: "Ruska Pravda", an imposing monument of ancient Ukrainian law procedure; the "Chronicles", the most important and richest historical sources for the Kyiv era and later times in early Ukrainian history, the oldest — the Nestor Chronicle — being dated about the beginning of the 11th century. We should like to mention shortly a few original writers of theology: Metropolitan Clemens Smolatych (1147—1154) and Bishop Kyrill Turivskyj (1130—1182), a master of rhetoric.

We must assume that only a tiny fraction of the literary production of those times has come down to us and that the great mass of literature has completely disappeared in consequence of the political catastrophes which befell this country. Judging from the high level of what has remained we can regard the Kyiv era as the golden age of Ukrainian literature.

In the Lithuanian period the language and literature of Ukraine continue to develop without, however, attaining the

level of the earlier times. Western influences become more 538
prominent; it is a time of transition, nor does the Reformation count for much, for even the Ukrainian translation of the Bible by Dr. Franz Skoryna in 1515 was a response to national needs and cannot be derived from external influences. The first [2 13]
Ukrainian books, on the other hand, were printed in 1491—93 by Shveipolt Fiol in a German printing-press in Cracow, and that in connection with the first Ukrainian academy (Ostroh 1577—1640), which had been formed for the purpose of publishing a critical edition of the Bible.

Literary and educative activity was really in the hands of 814
the brotherhoods, which naturally were greatly interested in efforts to unite the churches. Polish literature worthy of note arose, important preliminary work was done in the province of language (Smotrytskyj's Grammar of Church Slavonic 1618), but it was only after Mohyla (1596—1647) re-organised the Academy in Kyiv that a cultural center was formed which was to play a decisive part in the literature of Ukraine for about 200 years.

Theological, rhetorical and philosophical works appear, the history text-book "Synopsis" by I. Gisel (died in 1684) goes through 30 editions, and Gregor Skovoroda (1722—1794), the most eminent philosopher of the 18th century in Eastern Europe and a student at the Kyiv Academy, wrote his books, the real significance of which is only being recognised now.

The cultural renaissance in Ukraine due to the brotherhoods and the Kyiv Academy brought new impetus to other provinces of intellectual life, as for instance dramatic art (Jakob Gavatovych 1598—1679, Mytrophan Dowhalevskyj 18th century. Demeter Rostovskyj, 1651—1705, the writing of history Samuel Velychko, died in 1728, Gregor Hrabyanka, died in 1737, and Gregor Poletyka, died in 1784), and also in plastic art which reached a high level of excellence in the Left Bank Region under Mazeppa's hetmanate. Young men in Ukraine were no longer content 871
with native education; more and more they flocked to foreign, and above all, to German and Italian universities. Hetman Rozumovskyj's (1728—1803) intention to found a native uni-

871 versity in his own residential town of Baturyn was prevented from being realised by pressure from the government of Russia.

538 But in the darkest of days a renaissance sets in, if slowly and scarcely noticeable. 1798 is the date of the appearance of the "Aeneid" by Ivan Kotlarevskyj (1769—1838). It presents actual life in Ukraine, written after a classical model in the form of a satire and in Ukrainian language, which thus becomes the language of literature and culture. Just at a time of greatest oppression, the greatest Ukrainian poet was born: Taras Shevchenko (1814—1861), the national genius, whose prophetic instinct sensed the course of development of native literature and who devoted his entire energy to furthering it. His poems, collected under the title of "Cobzar" (the popular minstrel) became the bible of every patriotic Ukrainian. He was exiled for his views to Siberia by the government of Russia and suffered great hardships which caused his early death. Shevchenko marked a brilliant end to the development of Ukrainian literature up to that onoment but at the same time, the starting-point for a new movement. Pantelejmon Kulish (1819—1897), a most productive writer of many-sided education, was one of Shevchenko's intimates; he distinguished himself not only as a poet, but also as an ethnographer, a historian, a critic, and a translator. In the second half of the 19th century Michael Drahomaniv (1841—1895), a professor at the university in Kyiv, later in Sophia, a follower of socialism and inclined to internationalism, produced much eminent work, though not always of positive value. About the same time in the area of Ukraine that belonged to Austria, Ivan Franko (1856—1916) was working as a poet, a scholar and a politician of renown, being besides Shevchenko the most important personality in modern Ukraine. Round about the turn of the century there was a great increase in the number of Ukrainian writers; among the best known are Lesja Ukrayinka (1872—1913), the author of wonderful poems in dramatic form; Vasyl Stefanyk (1871—1937), whose short stories often portray the tragic fate of Ukrainian peasants; Les Martovych (1871—1916); an accurate observer of life not only among peasants, but also among the educated provincial classes in Ukraine; Volodymyr Vynnychenko (1880), a representative of

Ukrainian decadence, wrote not uninteresting dramas, novels and short stories which, however, had no great influence on the public. The following are the most noteworthy members of the younger generation: Gregor Chuprynka (1879—1919), an impressionist who was shot by the bolshevists; Ol. Oles (1878—1943) worked at Prague as an emigrant; the short-story writer Arkhyp Teslenko (1882—1911) who died early after having been banished to the north by the Imperial Government; Petro Karmanskyj (1878), whose lyrics have a delicate, almost exotic tone; Bohdan Lepkyj (1872—1942), who has written historical novels. Olha Kobylanska (1865—1945) was a worthy representative of Bucovina. 538

Among the many representatives of the world of science we mention Borys Hrinchenko (1863—1910), the editor of a comprehensive dictionary of the Ukrainian language; Agantangel Krymskyj (1871), a famous orientalist, the organiser of the Ukrainian Academy in Kyiv and the supreme head of the newly created state of Ukraine, Michael Hrushevskyj (1886—1934), the most important Slavonic historian of the present day and author of a monumental book on the history of Ukraine. 814

The literature of Soviet Ukraine which is completely under the influence of bolshevism and Moscow has produced no talent of merit. Out of the great number of prose writers of novel and short story only a few original writers may be mentioned, such as Mykola Khvylovyj (1893—1933) who was driven by the cruelty of real life to commit suicide; Valeryan Pidmohylnyj (1901), Gregor Kosynka (1899—1935), whose end was tragic, too. Khvylovyj is noteworthy because of his desire to enrich Ukrainian culture with western influence and to keep it aloof from northern ideology; pressure from Moscow, however, forced him to abandon his theory. One great master of lyric poetry has appeared, namely Paul Tychyna (1891), though his gift of song has completely dried up in later years. Volodymyr Sosiura (1898) and Eugen Plushnyk (1898) are only worth mentioning for the variety of the rhythms they use; Valeryan Polishchuk (1897) is the founder of a new kind of meter, the so-called "vers libre". One of the most promising and gifted poets of today is Maksym Rylskyj (1895), a neoclassicist, who tried long 538

538 to uphold his artistic independence in the face of official pressure. But after many years of an unequal struggle his power of resistance broke down and to-day he writes in accordance with instructions from high places. The works of the dramatist Korniychuk, lately awarded the prize of the Union amounting to 100 000 roubles, are of no great artistic value, but only demonstrate a certain obvious tendency.

II.

814 Scientific work of any significance does not begin in Ukraine until the nineteenth century and is confined for the first decades to history and ethnography. This research, in so far as it was done in the Right Bank Region, received a certain support from the Russian government which, after quelling the Polish rebellion in 1831 wished to produce scientific proof that the areas right of the Dnipro have always been what the official language termed "Russian", and that Polish claims were therefore quite unjustified. Governmental circles in the Left Bank Region were not so interested in that question and so it was left to the private initiative of Ukrainian patriots either to preserve the ancient monuments of the glorious past themselves or to hand them over to the safe keeping of the Society for History and Philology at Kharkiv university.

The first proper attempt to organise Ukrainian research activity on a large scale is connected with the foundation of the "South-West Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society" in Kyiv, which united eminent Ukrainian scholars of the day for the purpose of working together. In a short time the society had acquired a high reputation in European scientific circles, which it owed as much to the results of its research as to its valuable publications. Then came the unhappy year 1876, when it was forbidden to speak or write Ukrainian and when the Kyiv Geographical Society was dissolved. Thus every possibility of scientific work was closed and scholars were forced by the pressure of altered circumstances to transfer their activity to one of the institutes affiliated to the universities and here, protected by the cloak of officialdom, continue working for Ukraine.

Thus we find valuable contributions to the history of Ukraine in the collections of scientific works published by the "Society for History and Philology" at Kharkiv university, or in the reports of the "Nestor Society" which was founded at the Kyiv university by Prof. Volodymyr Antonovych (1834—1906). Every student of Ukraine finds a mine of information in the monthly publications of the "Kyiv Antiquities", founded in 1882; for full 25 years this review offered a means of publication to scholars like Mykola Kostomariv (1817—1885), Michael Drahomaniv, Oleksander Lazarevskyj (1834—1907), Orest Levytskyj (1849—1922), Oleksander Potebnia, Ivan Franko, Mykola Sumcov (1854—1924) and many others.

As a result of the great pressure on scientific life all over Russia, Ukrainian research in the Empire right down to the Revolution of 1905 could not develop freely on a national basis, the consequence of which was that the most important fields of this work, too, were transferred to Eastern Galicia. In 1873 the "Literary Shevchenko Society" in Lviv was founded with the help of contributions from Ukrainian patriots. After its re-organisation in 1893 into a purely scientific institution, it gradually became the real Ukrainian Academy of Learning. The reputation of the institution was greatly promoted by Michael Hrushevskyj, a Kyiv scholar, who was called to the Chair for Ukrainian History at Lviv university and appointed immediately president of the Society, in which capacity he developed a most beneficial activity. The best proof of this is to be found in the 300 volumes published by the Society from 1873—1914, containing essays in Ukrainian in all provinces of learning.

The revolutionary movement after the Russo-Japanese War which helped to introduce constitutional measures in Russia, brought certain relief to the Ukrainian people; this was first expressed by the foundation of the "Ukrainian Scientific Society" in Kyiv. This society was a center for scholars of all ages and, like its elder sister in Lviv, had a favorable influence on the young generation.

814 In the years before the First World War it published 24 volumes in which we also find articles by foreign scholars, mainly Russians, like Shakhmatov, Korsh, Perets, Ilinskij etc.

873 814 The World War had a paralysing effect on the cultural life of Ukraine as a whole. Hrushevskyj, its intellectual leader at that time, was arrested and exiled, all publication of scientific works stopped. But this depression did not last long, for the time was approaching when revolutionary movements in Russia were to lead to the establishment of Ukrainian independence. As a result of various technical difficulties, the universities in Kyiv, Kharkiv and Odessa, hitherto Russian, were left as they were except the foundation of new chairs for Ukrainian history, legal history, Ukrainian language and literature. In addition, two exclusively Ukrainian state universities were founded in Kyiv and Kamenets-Podilskyj as well as the faculty of history and philology in Poltava. Steps were also taken to organise the national archives, the Ukrainian National Gallery and finally the foundation of the Ukrainian Academy of Learning in Kyiv.

At first, the Soviet government did not interfere with the Academy of Learning, and even granted it a modest subsidy. Thanks to the devotion and the determination of Ukrainian scholars who did not leave the country, the Academy developed a lively and extensive activity in the years from 1925 till 1930, — though financial conditions were anything but satisfactory — and took a proper place among similar institutions in the world. But a radical change set in when the Academy, which up till then had been fairly independent, was forced into the service of communist theories; as a result nationally minded scholars were removed and bolshevist party ~~functionaries intro~~duced as members. The scientific level of the Academy sank enormously.

In the areas of Western Ukraine which were allocated to Poland, research activity decreased in comparison to pre-war years, which was mainly due to the lack of money.

As a result of the inflation of the Polish currency, the Shevchenko Society of Learning in Lviv lost much of its funds; it had to dispense with state help so that it could only continue a very restricted publishing activity. When Eastern Galicia was annexed

by the USSR after the fall of the Polish state, the Shevchenko 873
Society of Learning in Lviv was dissolved in December 1939. 814

The great hardships which the Ukrainian people has been exposed to in the last decades forced many intellectuals abroad where they attempted to found new centers of intellectual life. Thus the Ukrainian university in Prague, the college of Agriculture in Podjebrady, the Institute of Pedagogy, the Institute of Sociology, the Academy of Fine Art, the Society for History and Philology, the Society of Ukrainian Doctors and Engineers, the Ukrainian National Museum — all in Prague — came into being. The University, the oldest of the existant institutions, published a series of studies by its members, this being imitated with great zeal by other universities. We are justified in saying that, on the whole, Ukrainian emigrants in Prague were exceedingly active. The Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin also became an important center of Ukrainian scientific research abroad, its function being to develop its activity in close cooperation with European science. The publishing activity of the Ukrainian Institute in Varsaw, which published a series of valuable monographs, is worth mentioning.

Theater

545 When the Jesuits, in the pursuit of their plans of conquest, introduced Polish drama into Ukraine at the beginning of the 17th century in the form of a school-play, the orthodox inhabitants opened a defensive campaign and founded theaters in the schools as a means of promoting their own culture. And these days are not really so far behind us; in the second half of the 19th century, this time under Russian supremacy, the theater was the only opportunity where the Ukrainian word could be heard and the only place where Ukrainian sentiment could express itself without fear of Russian censorship. When in the eighties and nineties of last century the Ukrainian theater could point to a number of great artistic and celebrated triumphant successes not only in Ukraine but also in the large towns of Russia, and was even allowed to give performances in the Tsar's palace — General Drenteln, Governor of almost half Ukraine, forbade all performances in Ukrainian areas under his jurisdiction. To protests the governor replied not untruthfully that while the Ukrainian theater in Petersburg was merely drama, it was first and foremost politics at home. We must bear in mind this national function of the Ukrainian theater if we wish to evaluate its development and achievements in the last three centuries properly.

The theater in Ukraine is characterised further by the revolutionary form of its development. It is on the stage in Ukraine that new ideas are ruthlessly opposed to what is older and what has not perhaps completely forfeited its right to exist. But there is no room for two gods. Determined by such circumstances an organic transition from one period to another seems almost impossible and history itself seems to be merely the sum of separate and unconnected periods. This lack of tradition, of a gradual transition, of grafting the new on the old and vice-versa has certain advantages, as well as great disadvantages; it is favorable to the appearance of strong personalities who are not handicapped by obligations to the past and are therefore able to devote their entire energy to realising new ideas.

The third special characteristic of the Ukrainian theater is the fact that, during its entire existence, it has always been only a "theater for the people", and not only that the widest circles of the population were greatly interested in the performances and in the work and lives of Ukrainian actors but that, corresponding to the social structure of the Ukrainian people, it has always been a peasant theater, presenting, above all, the problems of peasant life.

As already mentioned, school plays gave a characteristic stamp to the earliest period of the Ukrainian drama. The school which has handed down the oldest examples of this art was the school of the Lviv Brotherhood, famous in its day. The examples we have of those early school dramas are most primitive, being mostly merely dialogues that were spoken at the Holy Grave or, when there was any special occasion in the Brotherhood School, in the courtyard of the church. Besides those dialogues which were always based on religious subjects, interludes have also come down to us, two of which by Jacob Gavatovych, dating from 1619, are distinguished in form and style from their primitive predecessors. A fairly complicated drama of the 17th century, called "A Play about the Destruction of Hell" marks the transition from those dialogues to a more developed form of dramatic art; it is written in verse, in the lively language of everyday and for a large caste, among which Christ suddenly appears as an actor on the stage. The plays belonging to the Kyiv circle which arose in the 18th century in the Brotherhood School there as well as in Mohyla's famous Academy in Kyiv, were transitional in character. In this connection we must not omit to mention a dramatist at the end of the 17th century, Danylo Tuptalo (monk's name Demeter Rostovskyj).

Theophan Prokopovych, a collaborator of Peter the Great and a great scholar connected with Mohyla's Academy in Kyiv, thoroughly reformed the school theater. In his theory of poetry Prokopovych issued set dramatic rules according to which the new plays, called by him tragicomedies, were to be acted. His theories had not such lasting influence as his play "Vladimir", a play that served as a model to all dramatists of the time and whose rules were so slavishly observed by succeeding writers that this entire branch of art was gradually petrified and died.

The second great period in the history of the Ukrainian theater which lasted from the beginning of the 19th century till the present day, began with the performance of a comedy from the life of the people called "Natalka Poltavka" (Natalie from Poltava). It was interspersed with songs and, both as literature and as a stage show, has become one of the classical masterpieces of dramatic art in Ukraine. Ivan Kotlarevskyj, the author, was able to book such a great success because, besides his talents as a writer, he was director of the theater in Poltava and was in possession of considerable stage technique. After this auspicious start, Ukrainian theaters sprang up like mushrooms after rain; talented actors appear, among them Shchepkin, Solenyk, Rekanovskyj, and Marko Kropyvnytskyj (1841—1910) whose genius found outlet in reforming later features of the theater in Ukraine. The repertory of the theater also grows as some of the most gifted writers in the first half of the 19th century begin to write for the stage. Among these are Kvitka (1778—1843), Shevchenko, Kostomariv and others. The subjects that proved most suitable for the stage at that time were characteristic scenes from the life of the people with the Ukrainian landscape as a background and also events from Ukrainian history, but above all the deeds of the Zaporog Cossacks, the heroes of Ukraine.

These national tendencies of the Ukrainian theater could not escape the argus eyes of the imperial government, intent on forcing all the nations within the great empire to become Russians. In 1876 a secret circular was therefore sent round all administrative authorities forbidding the speaking or writing of Ukrainian. The stage was the first position that the Ukrainian language was able to re-take. Under the pressure of public opinion the ban on Ukrainian was lifted for the theater after five years.

This victory gave the Ukrainian theater a tremendous impetus as the only form of expression open to national life. The stage in Ukraine attracted more talented actors than the Russian theater could count on for the performance of popular plays; we mention only a few of the most important, such as Kropyvnytskyj (1841—1910), Zankovetska (1860), Saksahanskyj (1858), Sadovskyj (1856—1936), then dramatic critics like Starytskyj (1840—1904) who was also an exceptional stage-manager, Tobylevych (1845—1907) and others. Finally composers like Nishchynskyj (1832—1896) and Lysenko utilised this newly opened province of art in order to give expression to their ideas.

The Ukrainian troupes of actors were in those days simply called the "Meininger" in Russia (the famous theater in Meiningen was at that time at the height of its fame). And the epithet was not unmerited. For, in the same way as the celebrated German ensemble, the Ukrainian owed its unparalleled success to its harmonious management and its efforts to achieve truth in the settings of its plays. And the decisive triumph of the national idea was behind this purely artistic success. The Ukrainian language which was completely forbidden rang out unexpectedly, but all the more convincingly, from the advanced outpost of a popular stage. The sound of the Ukrainian language, of the Ukrainian folk-song, the beauty of the national costume, the magic of the Ukrainian landscape, the poetry of national traditions which the higher powers wished to stamp out at all costs, all this was displayed like a pageant to the spectators who were in danger of forgetting that they, too, were children of the Ukrainian people.

Up till the revolution of 1905 the theater in Ukraine was represented by travelling ensembles. New avenues were opened after the Russo-Japanese War and the changes that followed it. All restrictions were removed with one stroke of the pen and theater managers were permitted to extend their repertories beyond subjects from peasant life and to turn their attention to the theater in the West. It was, of course, easy to drop prohibitions that had existed up till now; but it was not so simple to transform suddenly the often gifted actors who had always played peasant and Cossack rôles into players who were capable of giving a satisfactory presentation of a modern play. This aim was not completely attained till the short period of Ukrainian independence in 1918.

At this time there were two theaters in the capital which attempted to win popular support by their whole equipment, the excellence of their castes, and their sympathy with western theaters. "Oedipus Rex" which the "Young Theater" had been preparing for almost two years was an enormous success. Les Kurbas (1887), the manager and the soul of the ensemble became famous overnight. The "Young Theater" was mobile, thoroughly alive and inspired by youthful enthusiasm and a determination to work, though imperfections were bound to appear occasionally. The second modern stage, the "State Theater", was forced by its character to devote its attention to the absolute control of all means of presentation. Its head was Aleksander Zaharov (1877) and its performances were perhaps not always very lively, but they were all the more solid.

After the occupation of Ukraine by the bolshevists, the theater in Ukraine, as elsewhere in the Union, was used as an instrument of wide-spread propaganda. It was greatly extended for this purpose, so that opera-houses and also some ordinary theaters are to be found in several towns. Peasant life, however, was now banned from the stage and replaced by urban life of neutral nationality and to a large extent coinciding with the life of the working classes. The change that took place here may perhaps be briefly summed up by saying that under the influence of bolshevist reality Ukrainian dramatic art has been transformed into dramatic art in Ukraine.

In Western Ukraine the strong Polish interest in the country and the great difficulties imposed by the Polish government prevented Ukrainian dramatic art from establishing itself at first. It was only after Galicia was annexed by Austria in 1772 that the first attempts at dramatic representation were given in Greek-United theological colleges by students, and therefore without female rôles. The Ukrainian theater proper, with secular actors, only saw light in 1848, a year that was as significant for Austria as for Galicia. The part which this theater had to play in the renaissance of the Ukrainian people in its western areas was similar to that of the Ukrainian stage within the Russian empire. The difficulties with which actors and stage-managers had to cope were no less great, though of a different nature; for its fate was not determined by the Russian censor or the almighty governor general, but by its empty purse. Ukrainians living in Austria-Hungary had no capital at their disposal for the support of the theater and Polish influence on the government in Vienna was so powerful that it was able to prevent the granting of all subsidies to the Ukrainian theater. This situation is expressed by the fact that the four million tax-paying Ukrainians in the Habsburg Empire had not one single permanent theater, but were compelled to be content with travelling companies up to the war of 1914. It is clear that matters were not improved after the debâcle of 1918, when Galicia was annexed to Poland. When Ukrainians in Lviv attempted to build a theater with their own money on a site that had been purchased before, the Polish authorities managed to prevent the realisation of the plan.

In Galicia, too, repertories of theatrical companies consisted mainly of subjects from rural life. It is due to this and to the fact that these companies had no permanent home, but also toured through all the smaller towns in Galicia, that the influence of the theater on the population was greater and deeper than that exercised by urban drama of higher artistic merit. Its direct appeal, its proximity to real life aroused in the mass of the Ukrainian peasants the feeling and the demand for dramatic representations. As a result of the fruitful, if most laborious, detailed work accomplished by Ukrainian artists, amateur theatrical societies were formed in almost every village here as elsewhere throughout Ukraine, which, as they attracted young people, exercised a great educational influence.

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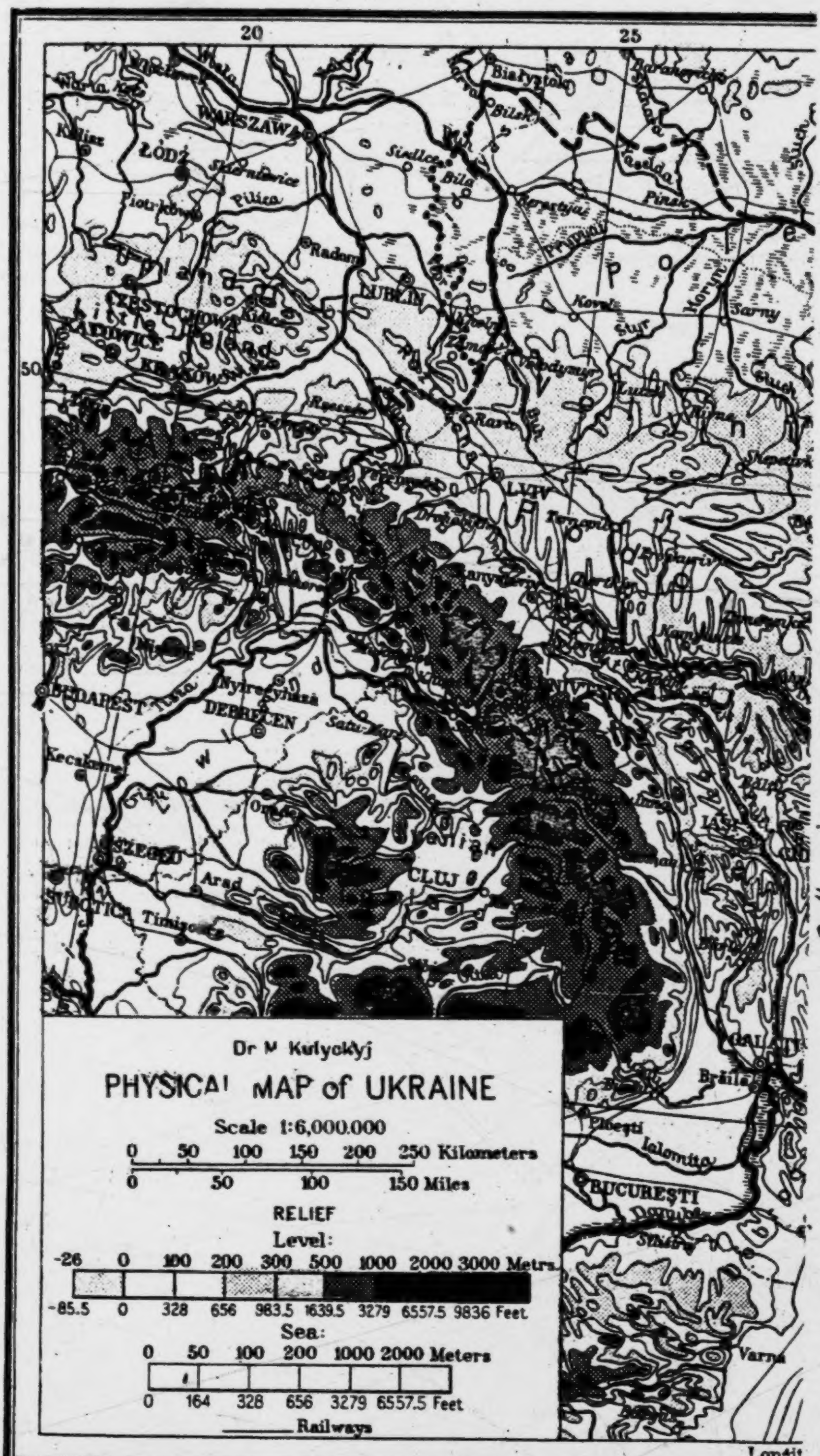

Dr M Kulyckyj
PHYSICAL MAP of UKRAINE
Scale 1:6,000.000
0 50 100 150 200 250 Kilometers
0 50 100 150 Miles
RELIEF
Level:
-26 0 100 200 300 500 1000 2000 3000 Metrs.
-85.5 0 328 656 983.5 1639.5 3279 6557.5 9836 Feet
Sea:
0 50 100 200 1000 2000 Meters
0 164 328 656 3279 6557.5 Feet
Railways
20
25
50
WARSZAWA
ŁÓDŹ
Kalisz
Piotrków
Pilica
Radom
LUBLIN
Siedlce
Biała
Białystok
Bilsk
Baranovichi
Pinsk
Kovel
Sarny
Styr
Sluch
Volodymyr
Lutsk
Rivne
Shepetivka
LVIV
Ternopil
Drohobych
Stanyslaviv
Proskuriv
Kamianets
Kielce
CZĘSTOCHOWA
KATOWICE
KRAKÓW
Little Poland
Rzeszów
Przemyśl
BUDAPEST
Tisza
Nyiregyháza
DEBRECEN
Satu Mare
Kecskemét
Oradea
SZEGED
Arad
CLUJ
Timișoara
IAȘI
Bălți
GALAȚI
Brăila
Ploești
Ialomița
BUCUREȘTI
Dunărea
Varna
Longit

Handbook of Ukraine.

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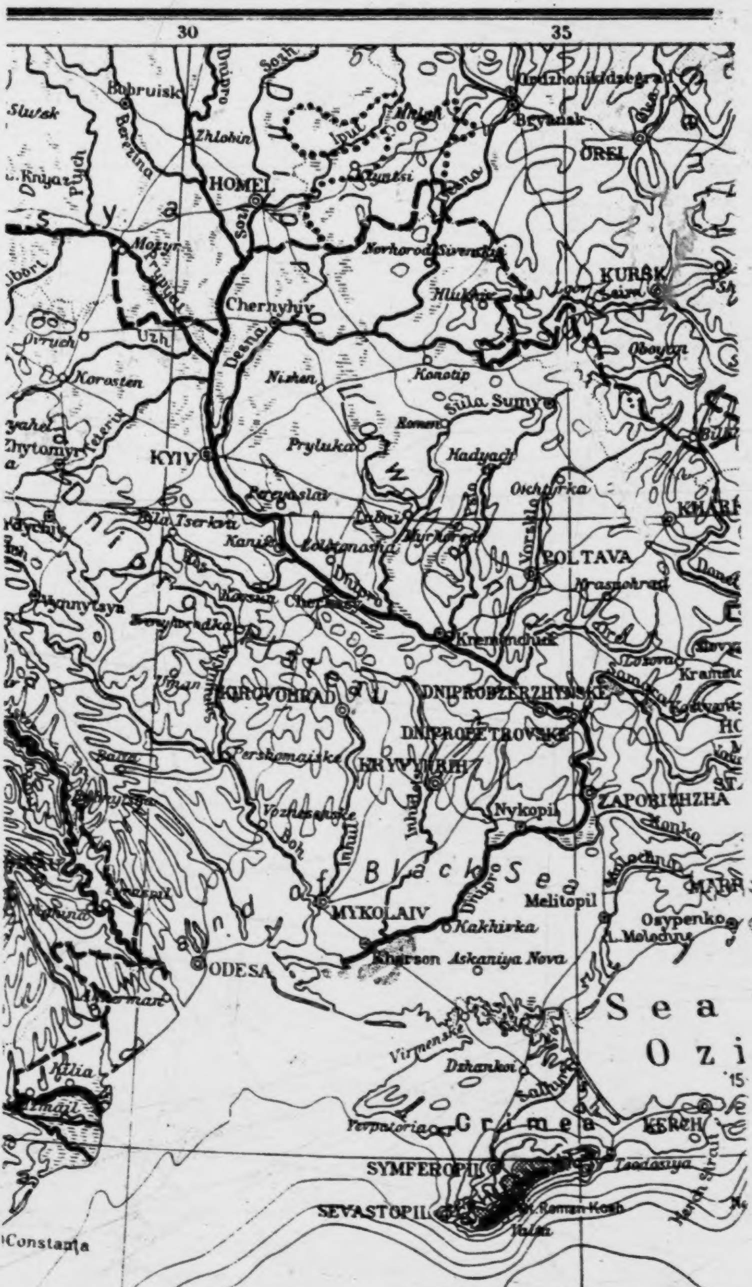
30
35
Bobruisk
Slutsk
Zhlobin
Dnipro
Sozh
Berezina
Ptych
Knyaz
HOMEL
Mozyr
Prypiat
Norhorod
Siversky
Bryansk
OREL
Hlukhiv
KURSK
Seim
Oboyan
Chernyhiv
Desna
Ovruch
Uzh
Korosten
Nishen
Konotip
Sula
Sumy
Romen
Prylukа
Hadyach
Zhytomyr
Teteriv
KYIV
Pereyaslav
Okhtyrka
Bila Tserkva
Lubni
Myrhorod
Vorskla
KHARKIV
Kaniv
Zolotonosha
POLTAVA
Ros
Korsun
Cherkasy
Krasnohrad
Vinnytsya
Zvenyhorodka
Kremenchuk
Uman
KIROVOHRAD
DNIPRODZERZHYNSKE
DNIPROPETROVSKE
Perskomaiske
KRYVYI RIH
Vozhesenske
Boh
Inhul
Inhulets
Nykopil
ZAPORIZHZHA
Konko
Molochna
Melitopil
Osypenko
MYKOLAIV
Kakhivka
Kherson
Askaniya Nova
ODESA
Akkerman
Kilia
Izmail
Virmenske
Dzhankoi
Salhyr
Crimea
KERCH
Kerch Strait
Yevpatoria
SYMFEROPIL
Teodosiya
SEVASTOPIL
Roman Kosh
Yalta
Constanta
Black Sea
Sea
Ozi
BLACK S
.2243
East 30 of Greenwich
35

Limits of the Ukrainian ethnographical territory, ●●●●●●●●● Limits of the Ukrainian territo

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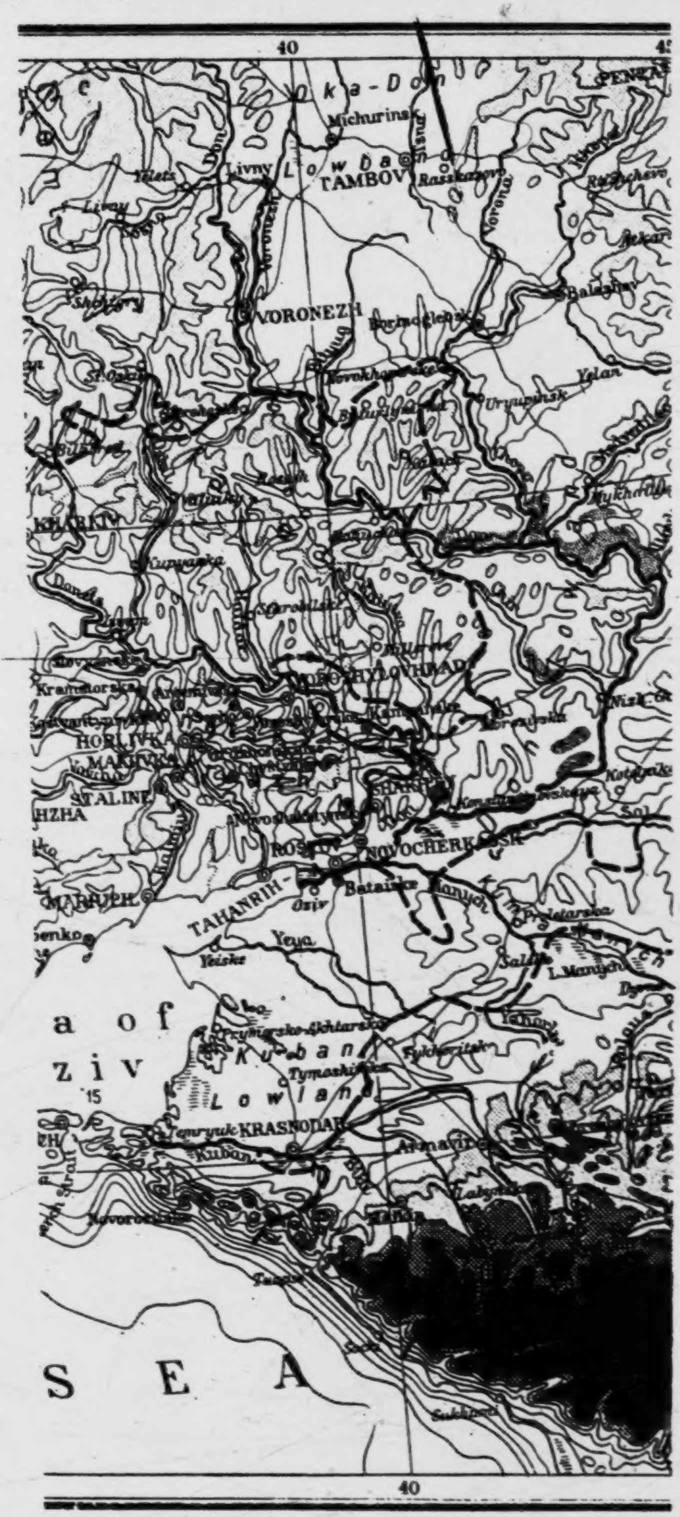

40
45
Oka-Don
Lowland
Michurinsk
Livny
Yelets
TAMBOV
Rasskazovo
Vorona
Don
Voronezh
Balashov
VORONEZH
Borisoglebsk
Novokhopersk
Uryupinsk
Yelan
St. Oskil
Boguchar
KHARKIV
Kupyanka
Starobilsk
Millerovo
VOROSHYLOVHRAD
Kramatorskaya
HORLIVKA
MAKIYIVKA
STALINE
SHAKHTY
Novoshakhtynsk
ROSTOV
NOVOCHERKASSK
Kamensk
Morozovsk
Konstantynovskaya
MARIUPIL
TAHANRIH
Oziv
Bataisk
Manych
Proletarska
Salsk
Yeya
Yeisk
L. Manych
a of
ziv
Prymorsko-Akhtarska
Kuban
Lowland
Tymashivska
Tykhoritsk
Temryuk
KRASNODAR
Armavir
Kuban
Novorossiisk
Maikop
Tuapse
Sochi
Sukhumi
S E A
40

ian territory with mixed population

following p. 280-C

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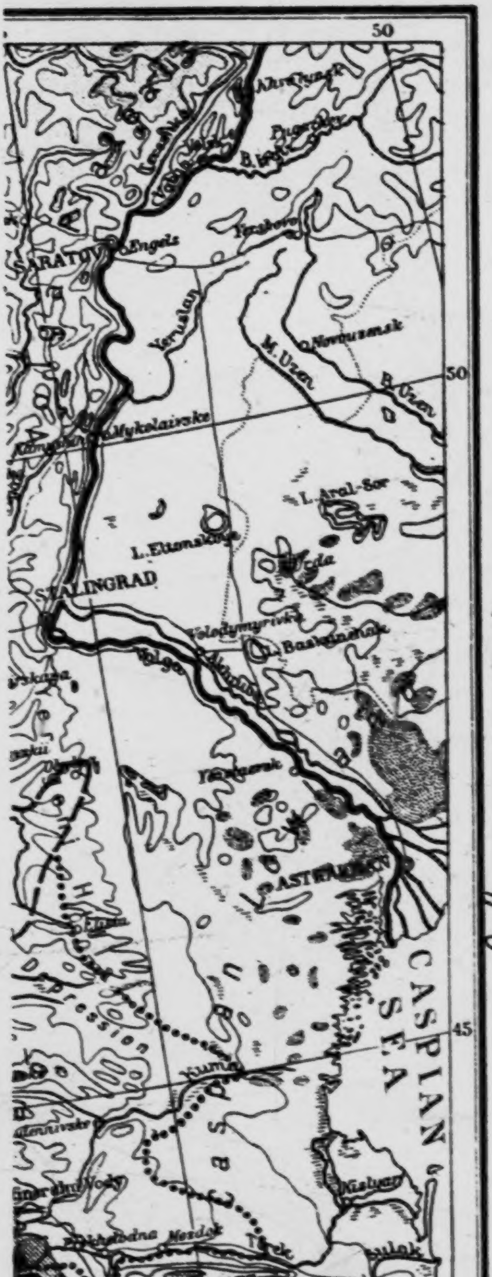
50
Saratov
Engels
Yeruslan
Novouzensk
M. Uzen
B. Uzen
50
Mykolaivske
L. Aral-Sor
L. Eltonskoye
STALINGRAD
Volodymyrivka
L. Baskunchak
Volga
Akhtuba
ASTRAKHAN
CASPIAN SEA
Depression
45
Kuma
Kizlyar
Mozdok
Terek
45

Klein u. Volbert, München.

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[For location of mineral deposits and other raw materials and indications of their importance to the economy of Ukraine, see category 116, pp. 146-188. For location and productivity of various industries, see pp. 164-188.]